THE ALTERNATIVE

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THE ALTERNATIVE: TO BARE THE WITNESS AND THE TRUTH

Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin -- the question of sex is still in committee.

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NOTICE

This issue of The Alternative has been pre-dated by one month to give distributors more time to place it on newsstands. The April dateline, therefore, does not mean that you have missed the March issue; it means only that what would have been the March issue is datelined one month ahead. Subscribers will still receive the full term of their subscriptions. Also, the numerical sequence remains unchanged; this issue, No. 5, follows the last issue, datelined February, which was issue No. 4.--Eds.

Editorial I

Anti-Semitism in the 1970s

Anti-Semitism in America is not a fashionable concern. So why discuss it?

When a society loses confidence in its principles, it often loses sight of its virtues. When its history is viewed as a succession of errors and evils its past successes will go unrecognized and its contemporary realities misperceived.

Consider the following: Not long ago at Marquette University, six Indian students objected to the school's symbol "The Warriors." They trotted out the usual transmogrified claims of racism, and after little debate an apprehensive administration changed the offending symbol. Further, it removed all pictures of Indians from university buildings. An

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The Continuing Crisis

• From the world of sport we hear that Mr. Joe Frazier beat Muhammed Ali to retain the heavyweight boxing championship of the world, but in the World Championship Worm Races in Brighton, England, Wippie Willie II was upset by Toy Token Tom. The eight-inch thoroughbred electrified the crowd by covering the two-foot plate glass course of the Brighton Worm Prix in one minute and seven seconds—sixty-eight seconds under the record held by Wippie Willie II's alleged sire, the late Wippie Willie I. Senator Edward (Teddy) Kennedy got his drivers license back, and the Apollo 14 astronauts returned from their successful moon mission.

• South Vietnamese troops penetrated deeper still into Laos and Cambodia, severing the Ho Chi Minh Trail, despite spunky resistance. By the end of the first week in March, American officials had admitted the loss of sixty helicopters on support missions over Laos and Cambodia. But there was good news from the 360th Tactical Electronic Warfare Squadron when it announced that the entire crew of Captain Craig Smith's EC-47 Skytrain is named Smith. The Associated Press carried the story.

• And Presidential hopeful George McGovern, the man the New Republic has called "too decent" for the presidency and the man who has promised to bring "candor and reason" back to political discourse, showed that he is also somewhat of a scholar when he put the United States' bombing of Indochina into perspective, essaying it the "most barbaric act that's been committed by any modern power since the death of Adolph Hitler."

• On 1 March anti-war demonstrators bombed the capitol; another bomb was exploded in the New School for Social Research. Mr. Peter Knutson, an eighteen-year-old freshman at Stanford, divulged to the Senate Armed Services Committee his findings that the Senators had betrayed the Constitution, committed hypocrisy and aroused the hatred of young people by forcing them to fight in Vietnam. Senator Strom Thurmond walked out in the midst of Mr. Knutson's discourse.

• There was unrest at Columbia University again this time over those bombings in Laos, and during an anti-war demonstration at Stanford pacifists shot two students as they stood by the headquarters of a conservative-libertarian student organization.

• At Northwestern University Mr. Nixon was burned but only in effigy. Senator Fulbright expressed displeasure over the bombings, offering the observation that to send American troops into Laos would probably be "illegal". And a band of anti-war protesters announced plans to get what they called a "People's Peace Treaty" placed on ballots across the country in what was described as a "new attempt to end the Vietnam war." A spokesman for a group calling itself the National Student Association said they wanted this action to be "a grass roots

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THE ALTERNATIVE
April, 1971

Superiority of Federalism

Gordon Tullock

In the early days of the Nixon administration many thoughtful persons and many jackasses spent a great deal of time ruminating over the New Federalism. Some dismissed it as mere political fustian. Others doubted federalism practicable in a complex post-industrial state. Still others felt federalism would lead to birth defects if injected into the drinking water. Many college students were especially chary of a New Federalism, for political science departments across the country have for years attitudinized their students to disdain decentralization.

Today, the conventional wisdom is in an alembic. The political scientist, Robert Dahl, speaking some years ago at a meeting of the American Political Science Association expressed an incipient dissatisfaction with centralization. Then Peter Drucker, in THE AGE OF DISCONTINUITY, arrestingly catalogued the limitations of centralized government. Both theoretically and in practice big government has become a mess. The Post Office has been in need of liberation for years, yet bureaucracy would not loose its hold. The Welfare machine is the oddest and most wasteful contraption of all time. Of every dollar appropriated for the poor, only a few cents ever reaches its destination. Even the military is fraught with inefficiency. As Drucker says all big government has shown in the past thirty or forty years is that, "It can wage war. And it can inflate the currency. Other things it can promise, but only rarely accomplish." Practically speaking, the basic problem with governmental enterprises like Welfare and the Post Office is that unless you can control the habits of the poor and the volume of mail, you have to adapt your programs to changing situations—governmental bureaucracy simply does not allow for such innovation. If the central government decides to assist fatherless families and the result is increased desertion, a withering of family life and unimagined welfare costs, the whole nation will be inflicted with one bureaucracy's shortsightedness. But, what if there were fifty bureaucracies experimenting with solutions to the problems of government? Some, of course, would be disastrous, but others would certainly be successful. And, it is a lot easier to leave George Wallace's Alabama and take up citizenship in Ronald Reagan's California than to imigrate to Switzerland.

These and similar considerations have impressed us with the validity of federalism. Below Professor Gordon Tullock of the Center for Study of Public Choice at Virginia Polytechnic Institute cogently essays the benefits of a renewed federalism.

Perhaps the oldest scientific argument for a federal form of government is the one that John Quincy Adams used when he was ambassador to England to convert that compulsive centralist, Jeremy Bentham. Under a federal form of government it is possible to experiment with new techniques without much cost. As Adams pointed out, if Alabama has an idea for a new way of dealing with burglary, it can implement it. Massachusetts can watch and, if it works, adopt the same procedure. If it does not work in Alabama, Massachusetts has lost nothing. Clearly this argument would apply with even greater force to the some eighty thousand local governments than to the fifty states.

In recent times, this particular argument has been strengthened by the development of modern statistical techniques. In many cases, different state governments or different local governments follow policies which make it possible to statistically test the efficiency of different policies.

For example, it is almost orthodox in criminology that punishment does not deter crime. As it happens, however, different states impose different amounts of punishment upon different crimes. Further, the crime rates differ from state to state. The statistical problem is difficult but has been solved, and statistical analyses based on these data indicate quite clearly that imprisonment does serve as a deterrent to crime. There is an inverse correlation between the frequency with which any type of crime is perpetrated and the length and likelihood of prison sentence on that particular type of crime.

A somewhat more recent argument for federalism, one which Jeremy Bentham was not impressed by, is that it permits individuals to exercise better control over their governments. If you are one of seventy million voters voting in a national election, you have less influence per se on the outcome than you have as one of, say, one and one-half million voters in a state election or ten thousand voters in a local election. You could, therefore, anticipate that government policies would be more closely adjusted to your preferences in local government agencies than in national government agencies.

As far as we can see, this theoretical proposition is true. It is somewhat obscured by the national media which give much more attention to the national scene than to local matters. As a result, voters in state and local elections frequently find it very hard to get information about the behavior of their government. Further, it must be said that recent mathematical investigations seem to indicate that this is basically a rather small factor. Only in those cases where the population of a state (like Utah with the Mormons) or local government is quite different from the population of the nation as a whole, do you get major differences caused by differences in taste. Still, it is clear that there is some gain to be made here, even if it is not a massive one.

The third and most recently discovered advantage of federalism waited upon the widespread use of the automobile before it became of major importance. Local government permits individuals to "vote with their feet." I can select the suburb around a major city which best provides a combination of public services and taxes. Thus my choice of where I live or where I establish a business is determined partly by market considerations and partly by my consideration of the political situations in various places. This same phenomenon on a larger scale occurs between states. A number of southern states, for example, have established domestic policies which are particularly suitable for industrial development and have, therefore, obtained very rapid rates of growth. This, in a way, is a reaction to the previous situation. In the years immediately after the Civil War, most southern states — as a result of Reconstruction — had local policies which were averse to economic development and hence fell behind the rest of the nation.

The importance of this phenomenon is only now beginning to be fully recognized. Recent mathematical work, in fact, seems to indicate that if you have a number of government units operating close enough together so that the citizens can readily move from one to another, the form of government in those units becomes relatively unimportant. The civil servants and elected representatives who run many

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small cities which have the misfortune to be located close to competing small cities live harried and worried lives, just like small businessmen in a competitive market. In both cases, we as customers gain from this competition. This competition, needless to say, is available only in the federal system in which power is decentralized.

Granted all of these advantages for local government, one might inquire why the United States does not immediately disintegrate its central government and become fifty (or indeed eighty thousand) nation-states. In some ways, this would be an attractive solution and Scandinavia is an illustration of the advantages of having small national units. Switzerland, surely the best governed country in the world, is not only very small in itself, but is a federal state with the individual cantons having considerably more power than the American states — even though they are frequently smaller than our countries. These cantons themselves are broken down into smaller units — the communes — which have a great deal of government authority. Generally speaking, once again the commune has more authority than does American local government.

Nevertheless, although we can dream of the prospects, it is clear that transferring all government activities to local government would not be wise. To give but one obvious example, the Mississippi River requires uniform management if it is to be kept in a reasonably navigable state, prevented from having more than a minimum of floods, and kept reasonably clean. Only a governmental unit covering the entire basin could carry out this kind of control. Similarly, defense is best done by a large governmental unit, and there are many other activities which require central control.

We should agree, however, that efficiency will be highest if, in those areas in which it is possible, government is decentralized down to state control or, better yet, local control. The contrary or Hobbesian approach looks to efficiency in terms of neatness and superficial appearance, not in terms of what people actually want. We are extremely fortunate to have a federal system of government, and the centralization of power in the national government which has been such an important trend in recent history is retrograde. The net effect is that we will find our government less efficient than it was before.

Not only have we recently centralized much power in the central government, but we have also put great restrictions on the ability of local governments to experiment with new techniques. The Supreme Court, for example, has made it impossible for local governments to experiment with different voting procedures. Presumably, one of the reasons for this was a feeling that it might turn out that a voting procedure which was distasteful to the Supreme Court was actually more efficient. Preventing experimentation thus protected the prejudices of the Supreme Court from confrontation with data from the real world.

But not only the Supreme Court has been in the business of preventing experimentation. Many federal government programs sharply restrict the degree to which states can choose programs different from those of their fellow states. Once again this should greatly reduce the ability of the states either to serve as scientific laboratories for different policies or to provide specialized combinations of taxes and services for people whose tastes are not exactly those of the national norm. These changes are sensible from the standpoint of those people who feel that uniformity is, in itself, desirable, or those who feel that the federal government program is "eternally right." If we agree, however, that diverse institutions to fit diverse tastes are more efficient than cramming everyone into the same mold and that we need experimentation in order to make progress in government, then the federal system is clearly superior to a centralized government.

□

Mr. Tullock is a member of the Council of the American Political Science Association. Since August 1968 he has been Professor of Economics and Public Choice at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

President Stewer and the Key

George Carey

We reprint here an excerpt from Arturo Slysinger's monumental work. **The Age of Reason: A Complete History.** (New York: Hoopla and Roll, 1985. 60 pp. $250).

The worst finally came to pass in 1971. Kingster Stewer, president of Yahoo University and one of the most outspoken defenders of human liberties and student rights, was seized by members of a radical group called "Free Universities Now," (FUN for short). Because at this time university presidents were being abducted at a rate of three a day, this particular abduction would not have merited much attention save for the following two facts.

First, Stewer was almost certain to win a Nobel Peace Prize because of his outspoken concern for humanity. His eloquent defense of the New Heaven rapists of 1970 captured the hearts and minds of the entire intellectual community. The New York Times enthusiastically praised President Stewer for pointing out that all criminal acts (arson, bombthrowing, murder, etc.) are really the fault of society. These original observations provided an entire generation of intellectuals with food for thought. And he even expanded on this thesis when he wrote: "Justice is not of this world. We had best leave punishment of alleged offenses against society to god, any god."

Although an enlightened agnostic, President Stewer was quick to point out that every man is entitled to his own opinion and that to attack his prescriptions on grounds of his non-religion constituted character assassination of the basest kind. The Washington Post put the issue this way in one of its lead editorials: "Those attacks upon President Stewer's reflective and enlightened positions, simply because he is an agnostic, are simply irrelevant to his central arguments and his vision of a better world. These attacks would do the late Senator Joseph McCarthy proud."

A second and more important factor, was this: After being bound and gagged the FUN abductors locked Stewer in his office and then threw the key away. As Fate would have it, disposing of the key eventually became the key issue in the events which followed.

We present here a chronicle of what actually transpired.

(a) Reporters from the Colossal Broadcasting System were making their weekly pilgrimage to President Stewer in order to gain further insight into the increasingly critical question, how to run a university and keep the student and faculty militants content. They knocked at President's Stewer's door and all they could hear were muffled groans. They tried the door and found it locked. Sensing something wrong, they contacted other administration officials. Soon the word was out: President Stewer, bound and gagged, was locked in his own office.

(b) The faculty senate met immediately to discuss this situation. Various resolutions were offered at the meeting. Some, a very few, argued that the office should not be opened because university presidents were not needed and, besides, President Stewer presented a positive menace to the goals and purposes of higher education. This very small minority was quickly hooted down. Despite this, the faculty by unanimous vote decided that the office should not be opened.

Two principal reasons can be given for this unanimity. One school of thought held that President Stewer would like to suffer his inevitable fate because this would be a genuine and meaningful gesture, a positive indication to the world that he was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for the principles and beliefs which he had espoused during his lifetime. As one proponent of this position put it so eloquently: "Now President Stewer will get his Nobel Peace Prize. Yes, it will be posthumously awarded. But think of it! He will be a martyr...a symbol for those generations yet unborn. We cannot let this opportunity pass."

Another dominant line of argument, presented by Professor Rodelent of the law school, ran as follows: "To hire a locksmith would constitute an abridgement of academic freedom and the sacred privacy of our academic institutions. Beware my friends. If you hire a

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locksmith to open President Stewer's office, none of us will be safe. Soon you will find locksmiths snooping around our campus in droves. This will endanger our right of privacy. None of us will be secure. Allow one transgression of this nature and all our precious freedoms will be lost."

(c) The students following the lead of the faculty adopted by referendum (3000 to 15) a resolution which called for the sealing of all entrances to the administration building with bricks and mortar in order to insure that there could be no outside interference. They also voted by the same margin to rename the administration building from Washington Hall to Stewer's Tomb.

(d) The Colossal Broadcasting Company managed to get Erraticus Serverous to produce an instant special on the plight of President Stewer. In the course of this program several functional illiterates were interviewed. The comments of Irving Sunhill, a sixth grade dropout from Topeka, Kansas, are representative of this segment of the population. Said he, "I think it wrong for any group no matter how well intentioned to engage in any such activities. The poor chap, Mr. Stewer, will eventually die for lack of water and food. Something should be done."

Amazingly, Sunhill's view finally prevailed. After agonizing deliberation, the Governor of Commeticus sent the National Guard into New Heaven with specific orders to protect the locksmith, whose sole function was to unlock the door. The faculty of Yahoo University denounced this as "fascistic." Members of FUN physically tried to bar the entrance of the locksmith. Tear gas was used and approximately thirty members of FUN suffered bruises and cuts in the scuffle. This was duly noted in the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch**. Its editors asked: "What kind of universities do we have when innocent kids are subject to these brutalities?"

President Stewer was finally rescued. He was immediately taken to a hospital. A week later he was able to hold his first press conference. Here we can only highlight the more significant questions and answers as duly recorded by the **New York Times.**

Question: Were you at any time afraid for your life?

Answer: Not for one moment.

Question: But you did go through some ordeal. You had no food or water for three days. Weren't you a bit concerned?

Answer: Yes. A bit so, I guess. But you must recognize that we all have to pay a price for the preservation of freedom. This was a very small price to exact of me. Besides which I had to lose weight anyway. (Laughter).

Question: Are you at all upset about the faculty senate's resolution not to seek your release? Are you upset about the students' resolution to construct a Stewer's Tomb?

Answer: Not at all. I think this shows that we are a free and liberal university with diversity of opinion. I am proud of the behavior of the faculty and the student body during these moments of crisis.

Question: Where would you place the blame, if any, for the fact that you spent three days without water and food--bound and gagged no less?

Answer: Squarely on the shoulder of our present national administration, particularly Spiro Agnew. He is responsible for the fact that FUN abducted me. His intemperate statements about universities were clearly responsible for my plight. How can I possibly run a university with such men in high public position? He should be muzzled. (Applause).

President Stewer, we hasten to add, did win his much deserved Nobel Peace Prize. The citation ran, in part, as follows: "He could see beyond the immediate situation to the transcendent truths of man's existence. He was willing to sacrifice his life for these truths." □

Mr. Carey is Professor of Political Science at Georgetown University and recently published, with the late Willmoore Kendall, The Basic Symbols of the American Political Tradition.

Youth Against Castro

Educational Crisis in Cuba

Enrique Encienosa

Fidel Castro has ruled Cuba for a dozen years. Therefore, an eight-year-old child when Castro took over the government, would now be twenty. With the indoctrination methods used by the communists in their school systems, one would logically expect that most Cuban youths of today are adherents to marxist ideology.

Yet, the Castro government seems to have failed in its educational goals. Indications point to a strong feeling of rebellion among both university and pre-university students.

Minister of Education Armando Hart stated recently, that because eighty thousand students between the ages of fourteen and twenty refuse to attend classes, "Oriente Province should be declared to be in a state of educational alarm." The province of Oriente was the section of Cuba where Fidel Castro was born and where he started guerilla warfare against the Batista regime.

The students' anti-government feelings are apparent at many of the more than eight thousand schools and one dozen universities in Cuba. Guido Garcia Inclan, spokesman for the government, stated in a broadcast on Radio Havana-Cuba that the students at the University of Havana refer to the city's Central Park as Miami. Incaln admitted that he feels many thousands of youths would like to leave Cuba and join 600,000 exiles in the United States. Inclan also complained that "youths always have a derisive joke to make against our revolution."

University students were among the first opponents of the regime. Only a year after taking over the country, Castro was faced with eliminating many of those students who had once supported him. For it was the students, believing Castro to be a democratic leader, who swelled Castro's guerilla units, while Batista was still in power. But after Batista fled the country, the students' demands for free elections and a constitutional government were ignored. The students then regrouped into an organization called the D.R.E. (Student Revolutionary Directorate).

In 1960, Porfereo Ramerez, a former Castro guerilla, who was elected President of the Student Federation at Santa Clara University led a revolt in the Escambray Mountains of Central Cuba, until he was captured and executed. Pedro Luis Bortel, another student leader publicly opposed communist tactics and indoctrination programs. Bortel's reward was a forty-two year prison sentence for "counter-revolutionary crimes." Two other student leaders of the D.R.E., Alberto Muller and Virgilio Campaneria, fled to the United States to save their lives, returning clandestinely to bring weapons and to organize insurrection. Both were captured. Campaneria died before a firing squad, while the twenty-one year old Muller was condemned to twenty years imprisonment for his defiance. Two years later, Castro smashed the D.R.E. and arrested hundreds of students in a large raid.

There are those who maintain that as long as students oppose Castro, there is hope for a free Cuba. For it is from the universities that the government will have to draw its future leaders in administration and technology. In present day Cuba, only those students who are considered good communists are permitted to attend the university. Because of this, enrollments have decreased almost seventy percent in the last ten years, anti-communist professors have been expelled from their jobs and often jailed, textbooks have to be in accord with government policies, and the standard of education is constantly changed to suit the government's need. But even with the careful selection of a privileged elite to attain a higher education, university students in Castro's Cuba have been everything but submissive in their actions. There have been more than twenty riots in five years protesting the poor quality of education, mass indoctrination, and the arrests of students who are suspected of belonging to anti-government resistance movements.

Several thousand Cuban exiles in American colleges have banded together to form the FEC (Cuban Student Federation) dedicated to the liberation of Cuba. Among these youths, there are many who arrived in exile while only young children, and remember little about their country. Other members are veterans of the resistance, the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion, and graduates of Castro's concentration camps. The FEC has lobbied in Congress, organized rallies, prepared exhibits of photographs and charts denouncing Castro as a totalitarian. Further, they have collected money for the cause of a Cuba "without a firing wall."

These exiled students represent a strong

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factor in the war against Castro. Hopefully, this student exile organization will become well-organized. For if it could propagandize by radio and in other ways help those rebellious students inside Cuba it could create a serious crisis inside Cuba—a crisis not only in the present Cuban educational system, but throughout the Cuban government.

□

Mr. Encienosa is a Cuban refugee and an undergraduate at Purdue University.

competitive situation prevailing among the tobacco producers, an industry subsidized by government and regulated by government so as to preclude all competition.

The FTC might also note that the government not only supports this cartel, but it also has granted Iceland a $1,374,000 loan, enabling that country to buy American cigarettes for her citizens. Incidentally, this works out to be $7 worth for every man, woman and child in Iceland.

Think of those poor Icelandic consumers, with cigarettes forced on them from the cradle to the grave. Think of those poor American consumers, who pay twice, once to subsidize the tobacco industry and once to subsidize the smokers in Iceland—and then the government doesn't want us to smoke!

FTC, where are you?

□

Mr. Roche is on the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.

Protection from Whom?

George C. Roche III

The Federal Trade Commission dates back to the Progressive Era, when Americans first began to accept the idea that government could do a better job of looking after the citizen's interests than the citizen could do for himself. Since then, the American consumer has presumably been "protected" by government.

In recent years, many of us have begun to suspect that we need to be protected from government. Many had hoped that a new administration in Washington, an administration presumably "concerned" about the growth of government power, would reverse the trend and turn back a larger proporation of the citizen's life to his own control.

We should have known better. The Nixon administration has pursued a policy which is further strengthening the hand of the regulatory bureaucracy. For the past year, the FTC has been receiving transfusions of bureaucratic authority. First in the hands of Caspar Weinberger, a California attorney, and more recently under the direction of his successor, Philadelphia anti-trust lawyer Miles W.Kirkpatrick, the Federal Trade Commission is branching out in all directions—bringing suits against various firms, and promising such new departures as compelling some firms to advertise in opposition to their own previous advertising claims. (Think of the new sloganizing possibilities for Madison Avenue: "Double your cavities with Crest!"—"Be ostracized with Ban!"—"When poorer cars are built, Buick will build them!"

Ralph Nader is delighted with these developments at FTC. He opines that "the commission is waking up to its responsibilities," and goes on to say, "If they keep up the accelerated pace, the FTC may become a prime recruiting ground for idealistic young lawyers who want to use the authority of a democratic government to protect consumers...." Of course, the FTC insists that it must have greatly expanded powers and funds to do the job properly. Of course!

While the FTC is waiting for its enlarged powers, I have a suggested culprit whom they might investigate. We have heard a lot about "protecting" the consumer from smoking; now we even protect him from commercials about smoking. The FTC might take a look at the non-

The Voucher System Explicated

Edgar Smirnoff

I'm going to talk about primary and secondary education...by way of Ralph Nader and Guatemala.

Because perhaps Nader is right. Perhaps business can gull the consumer despite the brazen "inferiority" of their merchandise, for a while anyway. I do note that my own automobile has wheezed its way throught 130,000 miles without embracing a bridge abutment or contracting gonorrhea of the crankcase. However, even if my trusty Oldsmobile has turned out to be a Naderesque hunk of scrap, there would have been a few things I could have done about it. In order of consideration they are Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen, Fiat and Ferrari. Not to mention Datsun, Toyota and American Motors. The consumer may take it in the neck occasionally, but he always retains the ultimate weapon—his checkbook. Whatever Mr. Nader says, I refuse to believe that: (a) most people will buy the same lemon twice, and (b) nobody makes anything but lemons.

The consumer also has choices when government extracts taxes from him to perform an activity. He can pay his taxes, go to jail or flee the country. The last two are not, in the vulgar parlance of the times, "viable alternatives," and they are certainly not of the same genre as, say, switching to Kools if Winston No Longer Tastes Good etc. Most of us are willing to put up with the pay—flee to Guatemala—jail choice for many important government functions. I am perfectly willing to pay taxes for B-52s and prowl cars, though I may sometimes think them misused, simply because for government in the U.S. to neglect its duty to protect the citizenry from force and fraud would make Guatemala a comparatively nice place to live. Government has to have a monopoly of legal force to forestall illegal force.

So what does this have to do with lower education?

This: education is not a jet bomber and Joe Doakes can make intelligent decisions. There is no presumptive case to make education a government monopoly. (In 1952 the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously struck down an Oregon law requiring all children to attend public schools, declaring that "the child is not the creature of the state"). Yet we have given government a near monopoly of lower education. More than 90% of nation's children attend public schools. This is expensive — about $43 billion this year — and costs rise 10% per year regardless of the number of pupils served. My mother always told me monopolies are bad and government monopolies are the worst.

Shrewd woman, my mother. Because it sure helps to view public education as a monopoly. Otherwise it's easy to fall for the siren song of the educationists, "Think of the Kids!!!" (Public schools are so far up there with apple pie that anyone who politely questions whether they do the job is often branded a drowner of babies. Talk about defense being a sacred cow!) Public education has an effective monopoly because it is prohibitively expensive for any but the near-rich to pay — simultaneously — taxes for public schools, and then again, by tuition for private schools. Except for parochial schools (who receive massive support from their own sources), a man of modest means has no choice for his children other than the local school monopoly.

Speaking as a man of modest means, I would question how much my children would learn submitting to the vacuous blather which passes as economics in public schools. Or to U.S. history textbooks with errors of fact because it is safest to choose books which tout the conventional-wisdom-view, not scholarly truth. Or to orientation, band, driver education, basket-weaving and suchlike things which bear little relation to true education. I would not be against my kids learning to keep a car out of a ditch, but I object to other people being forced to pay for it. That's between me, my kid, the ditch and the insurance company.

Smirnoff is not alone in holding that more and more money for more and more irrelevantalia (a word I just coined), bigger educational palaces, and lower and lower pupil/ teacher ratios is not the answer to quality education. The authoritative "Coleman Report," for which the federal government paid a horrendous amount of your money, concluded that variations in the quality of a public school (using the traditional yardsticks of expenditure per pupil and pupil-teacher ratios) are not related to scholastic achievement. And scholars who have taken issue with Coleman's 1966

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study have come away eating crow, some even admitted that their investigations reveal the public schools to be even more inefficient that Coleman thought. Especially, it should be added, for the compensatory programs of ghetto kids. Many Johnnies still can't read. Some ghetto Johnnies can't even write.

Inexplicable? Hardly. What can be expected from a civil service bureaucracy running a monopoly? What incentive is there when teacher salaries are based on standard salary schedules, advanced degrees and tenure, when a "good" administrator is one who leaves the boat-rocking to others, when no one is held accountable for the product produced—providing the kids don't burn down the buildings? All that ever happens when something seems wrong is that educationists raise their chant, "think of the kids," and seduced legislators extract more tax dollars. Failure breeds budgetary success. Under these circumstances we should be wearing out the prayer rugs in thanksgiving that we get as many competent teachers as we do. I'm not saying that all teachers are nincompoops...merely that the system overpays the nincompoops and underpays those teachers who are creative and dedicated, while constraining the scope of the latter. Hence, a surplus of nincompoops.

I am indeed leading up to an alternative. We don't have to tolerate government to spend it on defense (unless you have some desire to wind up long on officers' pubs and short on bombsights). Defense is something which is non-desocializable. But it can be done in education. Simply give each parent a certificate for his child, redeemable for X dollars in educational services at approved schools. For "X" fill in the cost per child at the local public schools. Toss the ball up and see if anybody can teach the kids more cheaply and better. This is the "educational voucher system."

If anything raises the hackles of the education troops, it is the mere mention of the word "voucher." Try it on an educator. As the list of counter-arguments pops from his hip pocket, you will invariably note, inter alia, the following Standard Voucher attacks:

1. Parents are incapable of choosing "proper" schools for their young.
2. Panthers, KuKluxers, etc., etc., will start schools and poison our youth.
3. Schools will discriminate in admissions.
4. It will destroy the public schools.
5. The whole thing is unconstitutional.
6. This is a subterfuge for parochiaid.
7. You Fascist!!

Neglecting the ad hominem stuff in #7, and the "only educators know revealed truth" sophistry in #1, this hypothetical educationist will have asked you five valid questions (2,3,4,5,6). You are not likely to answer him as Rational Man to Rational Man, unless he is one of the worthy few who calms down quickly, but here are some suggested answers anyway.

First, insofar as anyone can know the Nine Wise Men, it appears as if a voucher system is perfectly constitutional. Aid to parochial schools is the kicker. "Establishment" of religion is a no-no, but benefits conferred privately on a religious institution ("free exercise") are not proscribed. Government cannot police the destination of a welfare check—for instance to a collection plate. The voucher is given to a parent, not a parochial school, and the freely-choosing parent breaks the direct state-church link. A 1916 Supreme Court case, **Quick Bear v. Leupp**, supports this reasoning. By treaty the Feds gave Sioux Indians funds to establish a school. The Sioux chose a Catholic School. Quick Bear (a dissenting Sioux) sued Leupp (Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) charging that the federal payment was establishment of religion. Quick Bear lost under the doctrine of the freely-choosing Sioux.

The mind-poisoning capability of the fringe-types in a voucher system is vastly overrated. In the first place, it isn't hard to place barriers to the wierdies (e.g. no teaching of violent overthrow, "proof of financial responsibility") which would weed most of this stuff out, if that is your bag. (You may cringe at "controls," but as a political realist you must admit a Panther school wouldn't do much for voucher system P.R. The thing has to pass a political body first.) Heaped on this is a little communications problem. Ladies and gentlemen, controls or no, nearly anybody could open a voucher school, but if they don't attract business, that's finis. Anybody who peddles something besides high-quality instruction is out on his ear from lack of business.

Discrimination in admissions is no sweat. O.E.O. (blessed be the name of O.E.O.) devised a perfectly OK lottery system of admissions to voucher schools. (The National Education Association is trying to kill the sanitized voucher experiments O.E.O. is planning). A school would take all applicants if there were more vacancies than applicants. If a surplus of applicants, the school takes children previously enrolled, selects a percentage of the remainder by its own standards,and admits the rest by a lottery conducted by a public official. Simple.

And speaking of those "schools." Our educator friend has alleged that a voucher system is a cover of parochiaid. Not so. There are a number of corporations itching to take a crack at educating kids. You can start with subsidiaries of monoliths (Westinghouse has one) and work down through small fry like Behavioral Research Laboratories and Dorsett Educational. Further, it ain't so far-fetched to believe that groups of parents will band together (this happens in Denmark) or that entrepreneurs in the classical mold will step forth with schools. Hell, Ed Smirnoff might even take a crack at it. My local school corporation spends $900 per kid, and I figure for $500 I can have Ph.D's underfoot with Raquel Welch running the serving line in the cafeteria. And clean up...late...in the cafeteria.

Will a voucher system, therefore, "destroy public education?"

Yes, it might. It will if public schools cannot adapt with more facility than in the past. Monopolists are not known for their energy, until confronted by challengers. Thus, with some competition the education bureaucrats might surprise us with how fast they can move.

Until then, the only thing I can find dangerous about a voucher system is standing in front of the exits to the public schools when it passes into law. □

THE NEW TYRANNY.

"OF COURSE YOU NEEDN'T *WORK*, FITZMILKSOPPE; BUT *PLAY* YOU *MUST*, AND *SHALL!*"

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Blown in the Wind

Notes on the Military-Industrial Complex

Murray Kempton

The following was cunningly pirated from the editors' office of the New York Review of Books *by our editor and second-story man, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.*

The enormities of Pax Americana continue to singe the sensibilities of the few gentle idealists still staggering across the wasteland Amerika. On 9 February it was announced by the United States Air Force that they had found yet another method for memorializing those pathetic creatures maimed in the service of their country and twisted in the workings of this awful machine. Mr. Stumpy John Silver is to be mounted in permanent display at the Air Force Museum of Wright Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. Yes, the Air force has decided to actually mount Silver's body in their infamous display, so that all the cocktail gutted middle Americans can parade their funky wives and sniveling darlings before this inspiring desecration. Perhaps the Air Force will display poor Silver's body in a drive-in window so Mr. Jones can wheel his Ford Ranchero right through on one of those weekend outings when he and his squalling puppies insouciantly glide down the freeway leaving a foul wake of "disposable" schlock and carbon monoxide.

Putatively the display is a symbol of "the heroic and faithful service" of Stumpy John and his class to "the American combat forces during the First World War." It was in 1918 that Mr. Silver delivered a message through "enemy" lines to a destination twenty-five miles away, despite serious injury. A machine gun bullet had pierced his breast and his right leg had been torn off when a shell exploded near him while he struggled under heavy German fire.

The "hero" survived though he was not discharged from service until 1921. He spent his remaining years in Hawaii, where he died in 1935 at the age of seventeen years, eleven months. On the plaque that will be placed beneath Silver's body the Air Force states that Stumpy John Silver (named after the one-legged pirate in **Treasure Island**) was but one of many homing pigeons who served the American forces with valor in the War to End Wars.

Ah... and so the great wheels continue to turn. And we erect monuments from the flesh of those valiantly departed, and the sweet poet asks again more plaintively "...how many seas must a white dove sail before she sleeps in the sand..." and then he asks about the cannon balls, and then he looks to the wind. And near Dayton, Ohio they will raise John Silver's body on a pole so we can gawk. □

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The Eliot of Our Fathers

Fiction and Conservatives

Lazy Joe Fish

Among the seventeen novels I have thought about writing but have never written, one is a particular favorite of mine. It concerns the breakdown of the United States of America (from problems too complicated to go into here), and, in the last chapter, the hero — a fortyish, conservative professor who has been operating as the clandestine leader of a conservative resistance — seeks refuge from revolution at his home on the Jersey Shore. There, listening to old Benny Goodman, Charley Parker and Art Tatum records and drinking beer, he waits for the Crazies. They finally appear, coming down the beach, thousands of them, young, idealistic, mad, screaming, blood-crazed, intent on destroying everything. He puts one last record on the phonograph (Parker's **Koko**) and, rifle in hand, waits for them.

When I conceived that scene a few years ago, I thought it was the ultimate in anti-utopian horror; you know, it can happen here and all that. As I write this, there are professors, not all conservatives, who have, in one way or another, waited for the

Schußwort

Crazies — without a rifle — and watched as the self-hatred and despair that is the source of the demonic energy of the leftist radicals was turned upon their files and papers and scholarly research. Reality is hell on would-be novelists these days.

All of this is by way of introducing the not particularly new, but always important idea of the role of literature in the conservative or alternative or anti-crazy or whatever-you-want-to-call-it movement. Some of my best friends are conservatives, but many of them think fiction is something you read when there is nothing else to do. My point is that fiction — fiction embracing poetry for my purposes here — is and has been a great source of conservative strength during this cruel and wonderful century.

Emerson once wrote: "There is always a certain meanness in the argument of conservatism, joined with a certain superiority in its fact." What he should have said is: "There is always a certain superiority in the argument of conservatism, joined with an absolute excellence in its fiction."

To begin, name the two great literary geniuses in English in the twentieth century — T.S. Eliot in poetry and Evelyn Waugh in prose. You'll get no argument from anyone, not even the most depraved leftist professor of English who thinks, say, Carl Sandburg is a poet, when you mention Eliot. There just isn't anybody else. You probably will get an argument about Waugh...but who are the contenders? Hemingway? Faulkner? At the center of their art were principles utterly opposed to the major directions of liberal thought for the past two hundred years. And then, in poetry, there is Yeats...and Pound...and Frost — not a liberal line ever written by any of them. In prose, Thomas Wolfe, Scott Fitzgerald...even the great Dos Passos — who admittedly, wrote his great work during a period when by no means could he be called a conservative...even the great Dos Passos has in **USA** a tragic vision that is incompatible with the sugar-cake fantasies of liberal thought.

English literature during the twentieth century, then, has been, if not conservative in the sense that Robert Taft was conservative, at its center deeply anti-liberal.

Go back a century. Who are the heavy-hitters in American fiction? Three — Hawthorne, Melville and Twain. About Hawthorne, there is simply no argument; the man was a conservative and a great writer and there isn't a literary critic worth his salt who will — or can — deny the fact. Melville's **Moby Dick**, with its mystical, deep-in-the-marrow bone, half-holy, half-mad vision of man's fate can be read with understanding only by those who know, with Melville, that there is more to our lives than Social Security experts dream of even in their wildest philosophies.

Twain...is Twain. I won't try to play games with him. He is himself. Yet, despite Leslie Fielder's vision of Huck Finn and Jim as proto-gay film stars, **Huckleberry Finn** could not have been written by a man infected with nineteenth century progressive liberalism. If a liberal had tried to write that book, it would have turned into an anti-slavery tract or a sermon on why we should help drunken unemployed fathers of disadvantaged kids.

Now comes the big point of all of this. It is no secret that the ranks of the campus Crazies and looters and arsonists are filled with what used to be called "students of the humanities" — English majors, the sort who can't find anything else to do (I was an English major). You would think that a student who has been steeped in the literary tradition of the West or who has had even a smattering of the best of the literature of his own century would not — could not — fall for the radical line. Four years spent reading Eliot and Frost and Hemingway and Hawthorne and Waugh must have some effect on the mind of a sensitive young person. Surely he must see

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that the utopian nightmares of the left simply are incompatible with reality...reality as seen clearly in fiction.

How, then, can students of literature spend their time studying authors whose philosophies are diametrically opposed to the irrational, savage, infantilism of the New Left? There are two possibilities:

1. They don't read the books and the assistant - assistant - assistant professors who "teach" the course don't give a damn whether or not the students read.

2. They do read the books, find the truth in them and then come to class and discover that the assistant - assistant-assistant professor, with all the wisdom of his twenty-three years and the accumulated insight of the **New York Review of Books** behind him, interprets all of these great works from a leftist, Marxist, any-kind-of-radical-but-right point of view. The students soon get the idea that fiction isn't worth reading because it can be twisted any way the graduate student teaching the class wants to twist it. I am convinced that there aren't a half-dozen liberally-oriented teachers of English who can teach the novels of Evelyn Waugh without either (a) committing suicide because Waugh has so successfully, hilariously demolished the libs entire world-view; or (b) dismissing Waugh's genius as an aberration, something quite amusing indeed, but not, say, in the same league as **Soul On Ice**.

Young conservatives or alternatives or whatever we call them should hammer home the idea of the overwhelmingly anti-liberal biases of the twentieth century literary giants. When I did so I discovered that the stock answer from professors involved pseudo-sociological and psychoanalytical examinations of the political leanings of Eliot and Pound and the rest, culminating in the pronouncements that after all, they were all reactionary pigs.

The fact of the matter is that the great fiction and poetry of the twentieth century is anti-collectivist because, like all great literature, it speaks for the human spirit, a spirit that finds in the cotton candy of liberal thought food for a season in the sun but nothing to warm the bones during this long, long winter of discontent that has chilled the soul of Western man since 1914. □

Lazy Joe is the wangdoodlest poet in Slippery Bear Shoot, Indiana.

Relevant Editorial Contest

The Alternative *proudly announces its annual "Revelant Editorials Contest." You may win a fifty dollar scholarship for a four year, degree-earning program at any journalism school in the United States or Russia. To win, all you have to do is write the date of the following editorial and its author on a post card and sent it with your name and address to The Saturday Evening Club, c/ o* The Alternative. *The editorial first appeared in an American journal published sometime after the birth of Christ and before the birth of James Rhodes. This contest closes at midnight on 23 April. The card with the earliest postmark wins. In case of ties, the decision of the judges is final.*

The colored brother, sweating up from slavery, pauses now and then to take stock of himself. Such a stock-taking engages him today, and I gather from the reports issuing out of it that there is a considerable satisfaction in dark society. A few killjoys, to be sure, cackle somewhat dismally—for example, the uremic George S. Schuyler, of the Pittsburgh **Courier**—, but the prevailing tone of the discussion is one of complacency. The worst days, it seems to be pretty well agreed, are past. The Aframerican actor, for long condemned to rough and bawdy shows, is now received gravely on Broadway, and in sombre, indignant roles. **Books** by Aframerican authors are read and their contents noted. An Aframerican scientist, leaping from yarbs to the higher chemistry, has discovered a way to make **breakfast** foods and automobile tires out of peanut hulls. Afarmerican music is moaned and grunted everywhere, abroad as well as at home. In all the great centers of culture there are swarms of Aframerican publicists, orthodontists, insurance agents, realtors, beauticians, morticians and booticians, and soon there will be Rotarians and Kiwanians, as there are already Freemasons, Macabees and Elks. An Aframerican lawyer has been elected to Congress. The color line vanishes in New York society, and a file of high yallers threatens to follow the Ashkenazim into St. Bartholomew's. Finally, lynching has begun to go out of fashion below the Potomac, save only in the Baptist republic of Mississippi, and even there it is appreciably less popular than it used to be.

All this is pleasant to contemplate, for the dark brethren have had a hard time in the world, and every boon they enjoy today they have got by bitter effort. May the tongue freeze and the tonsils boil in whosoever raises a hoot again them! Nevertheless, it is still possible, while granting them everything that is their due, to view their achievement with a certain judicial calm, pointing out wherein they have got something valuable and wherein they have fallen short. My belief as a sincere partisan is that, on the whole, their fallings short mount up to more than their gains, and that their present situation is far less cheerful than most of them appear to think. For all their progress, economic, political and cultural, they have yet failed to accomplish two things that are of the first importance--indeed, more important than any other. The first is the organization of their people into a coherent and reasonably steadfast bloc, capable of acting, when the common interest is at stake, as a unit. The second is the formulation of a programme for it, with clear and attainable goals. □

The Campus Coalition Forms

Bill Bowman

"We believe the solution to the university crisis in the United States is to be found in a return to fundamentals," begins the Statement of Principles of the Campus Coalition, a recently formed nationwide organization of college students of diverse political beliefs, dedicated to the preservation of the university. This mission has necessarily pitted the Campus Coalition against the political ideologies of the New Left, whose tactics of violence and disruption seek first to politicize our educational institutions as instruments of Leftist dogma, and then to destroy them along with the remaining institutions of our culture.

Since universities are the most vulnerable of our social institutions, it would seem likely that a first battleground would be the college campus. From Free Speech, Berkeley, to May Strike, Everytown, the "movement" has spread. And as schools close to protest political decisions, as faculties vote to censure themselves for teaching "irrelevant" material, as students demand, picket, lock arms and break windows, someone must yell "STOP!" On 14 November 1970, the Campus Coalition was born in Chicago, Illinois.

The seeds of the Coalition were sown with the first trouble following American troop movements into Cambodia and the Kent State deaths. Students across the country hastily formed little groups which sought to inject a bit of calm rationality into the tremendous wave of emotion then threatening to negate, at least for the time being, everything for which the university stood.

Groups such as George Taylor's "Majority Alliance" at Ohio State, Arthur Waldron's Harvard chapter of "University Centers for Rational Alternatives" (Sidney Hook, president), Ray Tindel's "Committee for Campus Peace" at the University of Chicago, and Tom Siedell's "Committee for Undisrupted Education" at the University of Nebraska, formed at schools across the country to counteract student strikes and disturbances. And in the aftermath of the week of 4 May 1970, as some groups prepared legal actions against their schools and as others sought to engage their campus community in rational dialogue, it became evident that as there had been a nationwide strike, there had also been a nationwide reaction against it. Letters were written. Regional conferences of anti-strike groups were held. People began talking about duplicated efforts and confusion about getting legal and other help; and wouldn't it be nice if there were a nationwide organization.

On Friday, 13 November, the steering committee of the Campus Coalition met at Chicago's O'Hare Inn to set an agenda for the next day's meeting, and to work out a rough draft of the Statement of Principles. Nearly one hundred student leaders from anti-strike groups at fifty-five colleges and universities assembled the next day to

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hammer out the final form of the Statement of Principles, to hear a Chicago attorney describe the legal implications of a school closing down, to discuss tactics used to counteract violence and university shut-downs and to lay the foundations for future activities. Mark Souder, former student body president at Indiana University at Fort Wayne and leader of "Students for Order on Campus," chaired the meeting and became the Coalition's president.

Among the activities urged at the conference were the formulation of a kit to include instructions on how to organize a Campus Coalition chapter, suggested tactics to use to keep universities open and calm, a discussion of legal alternatives available if these tactics fail, and hints on how to raise money and how to get press coverage. Rocky Rees of the Yale "Free Campus Committee" and John Meyer of the University of Pennsylvania Law School announced that this kit would be available in a few weeks. These kits will be sent to any student on any campus who feels that his school might be threatened with violence, and who would like to do something about it.

A second activity of the Campus Coalition is the construction of a nationwide network of attorneys who will be available to help students exert legal muscle to keep schools open if the tactic of moral persuasion fails. The success of this venture is tied directly to the success of a fund-raising effort.

The most immediate goal, however, is to spread the news of the Campus Coalition to students on campuses throughout the country in order to get as many groups as possible started to work for campus peace before trouble starts. At least the Coalition hopes to exist as an address and telephone number which any student can contact for legal help or suggestions once trouble has occurred.

Right now the Coalition is assembling data from member schools on potential trouble areas in order to prepare for problems before they arise. Plans being made now for nationwide anti-war demonstrations in late April or May will be watched closely as they develop. (A second meeting of the Campus Coalition is being planned for spring.)

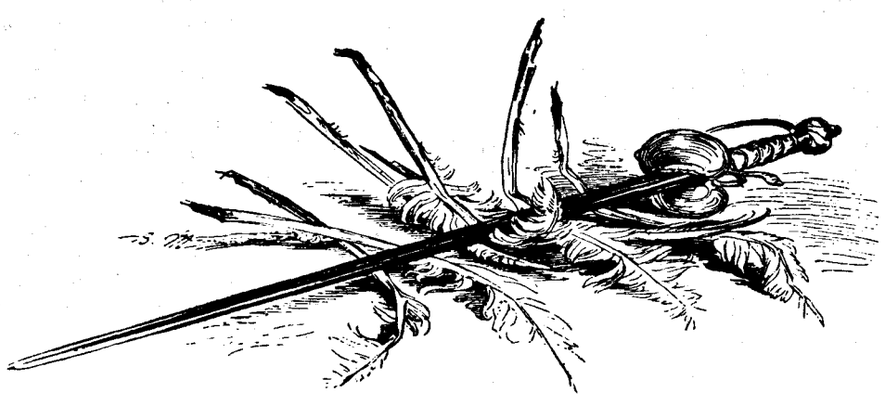
The fight for the preservation of our educational institutions is everybody's fight. The Campus Coalition needs more student chapters, suggestions, offers of help from professional people (especially attorneys) and money. The Coalition also needs its address and telephone number distributed nationwide. Please address all questions, suggestions, offers and/or pleas for help to the following address: CAMPUS COALITION, Room 204, 2313 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201 or call 312-866-7575 or 312-492-7146. □

Mr. Bowman is an undergraduate at Northwestern University. He is one of the founders of the Campus Coalition and a member of the League for Invincible Truth, Inc.

To Be or Not to Be

Defense Policies In The 1970s

William Schneider Jr.



The body politic of the United States is emerging from one of the more bitter struggles over defense policy in this century. This dispute, however, has by no means been the most acrimonious or divisive. The internal debate over the War of 1812 for example was so severe that the New England states threatened to secede from the Union. Nevertheless, the internal debate in the sixties over the course of U.S. foreign policy objectives and the defense policy designed to support it is of sufficient importance that the issues raised should be carefully studied. Every nation has a defense policy. This is true for the nation with the most belligerent objectives. There is, of course, the trivial case of the nation which supports no mechanism (i.e., armed forces) to support its foreign policy objectives. This is simply stating that a nation with such a policy will take no action involving the use of force should its foreign policy objectives conflict with those of another state. The more representative case concerns the nation which maintains armed forces organized to conform to some defense policy which in turn supports politically determined foreign policy objectives. The reason for doing so is that international disputes are the only conspicuous example of a case where agreements made under duress are considered internationally binding. For example, Nazi Germany's surrender at the end of World War II is considered by all parties, including Germany, to be internationally binding although the surrender was signed under duress, i.e., the force of arms of the victorious allied armies.

The question to be resolved then in the normal case is what foreign policy objectives should be pursued, and what defense policy is appropriate towards the pursuit of those objectives. In his address on U.S. foreign policy for the Seventies, President Nixon has stated it is to be his intention to "harmonize U. S. commitments and capabilities (18 February 1970)."

We might consider that there are three classes of potential U.S. commitments. The most important would be the constitutional commitment to preserve the republic which implies maintatining sufficient forces to insure the political and territorial intergrity of the United States. The second class of commitments could be defined as commitments to Allies whose security is sufficiently important, that a loss of a particular Ally to a hostile power could jeopardize the ability of the President of the United States to carry out the first class of commitments. The third class of commitments might be characterized as gratuitous commitments. That is, the connection to U.S. security may be symbolic, or the motivation for accepting the commitments might be Isreal or Cambodia, or some may argue, Vietnam.

During the Sixties a twenty-year consensus that the United States should retain commitments of all three types began to weaken. There is a very broad consensus to the effect that the United States should maintain sufficient forces to guarantee its own territorial security. There is a somewhat smaller but still overwhelming majority in favor of maintaining alliance relationships with selected Allies. Although there probably still exists a majority sentiment in favor of maintaining "gratuitous" commitments, there is undoubtedly considerable debate over which gratuitous commitments we should accept.

The defense policy that appears to be "in the works" for the Seventies involves a reduction in "gratuitous commitments," or at least the means by which such gratuitous commitments are supported. The basis for this policy change appears to be the "Nixon Doctrine" which seeks to maintain alliance relationships, whether explicit or implicit, with those nations whose security, it can be argued, is at least important if not vital to the security of the United States. The mechanism for fulfilling these commitments is the supplying of logistics and advisory services to such Allies, with the formal commitment of U. S. forces only done as a last resort.

Under this doctrine, the only forces required are the so-called general purpose or conventional forces. For such a role,

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however, a relatively small (e.g., 750 thousand men) army possessing high mobility and professional expertise would be required. Nuclear forces whether tactical or strategic would be of relatively little direct consequence with respect to such commitments.

The defense of Allies as well as the defense of the territory of the United States almost certainly require strategic nuclear forces. In addition, tactical nuclear forces and perhaps general purpose forces are also required to support foreign policy objectives which result from commitments to defend selected Allies and the territory of the United States. Although most of the rhetoric associated with the ongoing debate on defense policy has focused on the gratuitous commitments of the United States, perhaps much more deserving of attention is given the broad consensus for the defense of selected Allies and the territorial defense of the United States that we examine the adequacy and appropriateness of existing U.S. defense policies to support those objectives.

It will be argued here that defense policies pursued during the Sixties have made it extremely difficult for the President of the United States to support those objectives. The reasons for this failure have been both doctrinal and budgetary. They have been doctrinal in the sense that U. S. objectives in arms control, defense planning, and related areas have tended to make the territorial and political integrity of the United States far more vulnerable than it need be (given U. S. capabilities and technological ability) while simultaneously weakening the credibility of our commitments to key Allies.

To illustrate this position a device commonly employed in the analysis of alternative public policies will be employed known as the scenario. The scenario is simply a device for testing the plausibility of assumptions and conclusions by substituting plausible events for actual experience.

In May 1975, a 1975 Nightmare Scenario, East German Prime Minister, Walter Ulbricht, dies suddenly. Though an aging man, his rule had been law in the German Democratic Republic for over two decades. So critical was his role in the affairs of the German Democratic Republic that the party machinery was thrown into complete chaos by his death. The chaos is only temporarily quieted by selection of a committee to rule the Communist nation. Scattered resistance, suppressed under the Ulbricht regime, begins to spring up so that the new ruling committee makes suppression of "counter revolutionaires" its top priority. Efforts at suppression are inept, simply raising the tempo of unrest.

Faced with the possibility of a revolution, the ruling committee of the German Democratic Republic calls for the assistance of the sixteen Soviet divisions stationed in East Germany. The focal point of dissent is East Berlin. Two Soviet armored divisions and supporting logistics units move into East Berlin in an attempt to quell widely scattered and spontaneous resistance. News of the appearance of Soviet armored units leads to mass attempts to escape to West Berlin. Holes are blown in the "Berlin Wall" at numerous places with homemade explosives, and it becomes apparent that scores if not hundreds of East German citizens are escaping to West Berlin to prevent such escapes, Soviet armored forces engage in "hot pursuit" of escaping East Germans into West Berlin precipitating daily skirmishes between Soviet forces and elements of the 6,000 man U. S. garrison in West Berlin.

Faced with the growing problem of spontaneous unrest in various areas of East Germany, the Soviet forces are determined to suppress unrest in the Berlin area so it cannot become a symbol of successful unrest. In order to prevent reinforcement of the U. S. garrison, the highway access and air corridors are declared closed by Soviet officials. The Soviet premier presents the U. S. ambassador in Moscow with an ultimatum ordering U. S. troops in Berlin to cease giving aid to escaping East Germans, and demanding that West German police turn over illegal immigrants (i.e., "escapees") to Soviet authorities. The President, conscious of steadily reinforced U. S. commitments, both to NATO and West Germany, over a twenty-five year period, rejects the Soviet ultimatum out-of-hand and warns of "drastic consequences" if the Soviets do not immediately reopen land and air routes to West Berlin. With an air of tension, NATO forces execute war mobilization aiming at complete force readiness within thirty days. The Soviet prime minister warns NATO countries that the soviet Union cannot "stand idly by" while NATO forces mobilize for war. Although it is well known that Soviet doctrine comes down strongly on the side of "preemptive attacks" as a way of minimizing an opponent's initial superiority, NATO forces have been so weakened by isolationist pressure within the U.S. during the Sixties, that NATO forces are ill-prepared for the mobilization. With tensions increasing, the Soviet Union mobilizes the Warsaw Pact which has been on "maneuvers" since the East German crisis began. Less than one month after Ulbricht's death, the world's two largest military alliances are ready for war.

In an effort to stave off what the Soviets believe to be an inevitable attempt to make a show of force in the Berlin situation, Warsaw Pact nations launch a preemptive first strike against NATO airfields, supply depots, command and control centers, and other critical military facilities employing modern "Foxbat" strike aircraft and mobile short range ballistic missiles with high explosive warheads. Because of the ill-prepared character of NATO defenses, the Soviet strike is highly successful destroying two-thirds of the NATO tactical air force, and one-third of NATO's heavy artillery.

NATO doctrine worked out over a period of more than twenty years calls for the employment of nuclear weapons under circumstances of a massive Soviet attack. Because of the depleted character of NATO forces, including U. S. forces in Europe, the President authorizes the employment of tactical nuclear weapons against Warsaw Pact military targets in Eastern Europe, but not including the Soviet Union. This attack is executed without warning primarily employing air-dropped nuclear weapons from the remaining tactical aircraft on European soil with an assist from carrier-based aircraft in the Sixth Fleet. The attack is highly successful; "collateral damage" (i.e., damage to nearby non-military targets) is substantial. In an effort to deter the United States from the further use of nuclear weapons, a single Soviet SS-11 ICBM equipped with four MIRV (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicles) warheads is fired in a "demonstration attack" against four widely separated military targets in Alaska including the major U. S. military facility in Alaska, Ft. Greeley, which is totally destroyed in the attack.

The United States begins a crisis mobilization, calling up reserves, deploying ships to sea, and placing U.S. strategic forces on alert. The U. S. strategic forces consist of 500 Minuteman-III ICBMs with three MIRV warheads each, and 500 Minuteman-II ICBMs with a single one-megaton warhead each, 250 aging B-52 heavy bombers, and 41 Polaris/ Poseidon nuclear power submarines. Because of severe budget cuts in the early Seventies, the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system, the B-1 manned bomber and various improvements to the Minuteman and Poseidon ballistic missiles have not been completed (and will not be completed until the late Seventies or early Eighties).

Fearing the loss of "bargaining power" in the Berlin crisis, the Soviets seek to execute a "surgical" preemptive attack against U. S. strategic forces so that the United States will be effectively disarmed. The Soviet SS-9 force has reached the number of 350, but each has been equipped with a technologically advanced MIRV warhead package of six warheads per missile. The Soviets launch a coordinated attack of SS-9s and submarine launched ballistic missiles on U.S. bomber bases, U. S. submarine bases, and U. S. ICBM bases. The attack on U. S. ICBMs is highly successful because they are undefended and the Soviet SS-9 MIRVs outnumber them by about two to one. The Soviets on the other hand retain a residual force of over 800 of the smaller SS-11 MIRV type ICBMs for the purposes of threatening U. S. cities should the United States attempt to retaliate.

The President is left, at the conclusion of the attack with the following state of affairs. One-half of the B-52 fleet is destroyed because many were caught on the ground due to the difficulties of maintaining a twenty-year-old aircraft. He has three hours to send the remaining airborne B-52s to their assigned targets or recall them to emergency bases within the United States. The only force that is apparently intact is the fleet of 31 Poseidon type submarine launch ballistic missile carrying submarines now on station at various points around the Soviet Union. However, the President is faced with the fact that the Soviets now only possess an ABM system, but their anti-aircraft missles may well

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have a capability against ballistic missiles because of the fact they were tied into the Soviet "space radar net" in the early Seventies. In view of the circumstances, the President is left with no choice but to recall the B-52s to their bases, and accept the Soviet ultimatum in Europe.

Some Implications for Defense Policy

This gloomy scenario is nonetheless plausible. We need not accept the "worst case" arguments posed by the Secretary of Defense, but merely recognize the technological improvements to the Soviet strategic forces, add malevolent intentions on the part of Soviet leaders, and extrapolate the effects of budget cuts on the effectiveness of U. S. forces through 1975. This scenario should suggest that U. S. forces likely to be in existence by 1975 are not, in many plausible circumstances, capable of supporting the foreign policy objectives which are shared by an extremely wide consensus of the U. S. population. One need not accept the stark possibility of intercontinental nuclear warfare between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to arrive at the conclusion that U.S. strategic forces are inadequate to support foreign policy objectives. One need only consider the perceptions of both U.S. and Soviet leaders in an intense crisis such as the Berlin Crisis posed in the above scenario. It is unlikely that the U.S. President in 1975 will face the Soviets with the brash confidence that President Kennedy was able to face Premier Khruschev with in 1962 over the deployment of a few Soviet intermediate range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Such a state of relative perceptions about the international balance of forces would, in most cases, be sufficient to deter a U.S. President from behaving firmly in a political crisis in which U.S. foreign policy objectives were challenged by Soviet forces or the threat thereof.

This is not to suggest that, even over a few years, this situation is beyond repair. It should be understood however, that if U.S. foreign policy objectives of maintaining the territorial and political integrity of the United States, and defending selected allies from the threat of nuclear warfare are to be maintained, U. S. defense policy must be changed, and changed soon.

With regard to the highest priority of U.S. defense policy—defense of the territorial and political integrity of the United States—the most immediate requirements are for upgrading U. S. strategic forces. This should include deployment of ballistic missile defenses for both strategic forces and population centers, enhanced air defenses against the threat of manned bombers, and expansion of our strategic attack forces so that they can fulfill what is known as the "Brass Rule"—a reasonable requirement stating that U.S. strategic forces should be designed and maintained at a level sufficient to inflict as much damage on an opponent as the opponent is able to inflict on the United States. Our strategic forces in no way—even at current force levels of both the Unites States and the Soviet Union—meet the requirements of the Brass Rule.

The Soviet Union outnumbers the United States in total force megatonnage by about a factor of four. The United States, of course, does not have the benefit of "Screwdriver inspection" of Soviet forces so it does not know in detail the composition of such forces, but by adding to what we do know about the gross characteristics of Soviet forces and applying well known U.S. technology to those characteristics, the magnitude of Soviet strategic forces are such that a substantial increment of budgetary support is required without delay to build up U.S. strategic forces to a level capable of sustaining U.S. foreign policy objectives.

U.S. funding of strategic forces has fallen from about one-third of total defense expenditures to as low as ten per cent (in fiscal year 1969) of total expenditures. In absolute terms, the United States was spending approximately $15 billion for strategic forces in the Fifties, an amount which would correspond to $30 to $35 billion in 1970 dollars. We are spending less than $10 billion in fiscal year 1970. If we are to support what I have described as "gratuitous commitments" — even on a more limited basis than in the Fifties — in the hope of minimizing world disorders, such as localized violence by either indigenous Communists or externally supported Communists, the U.S. "general purpose" or conventional military forces need to be highly mobile (many foreign bases are likely to be less secure in the Seventies then they have been in earlier years), professional (maximize volunteers and minimize conscripts), and elite.

Some Conclusions

We can conclude that U. S. defense policy is not adequate to support those foreign policy objectives widely shared by most Americans. The United States lacks none of the necessary resources, technological, fiscal or manpower, to support these objectives. The United States requires defense policy that will enable the President to support such objectives. The highest priority should be allocated to strategic forces. This means sustained strategic force budgets of from twenty to thirty billion dollars per year merely to meet the minimum requirements of U. S. foreign policy. At a lower order of priority, but still necessary if primary U. S. foreign policy objectives are to be adequately supported, is a structuring of U.S. general purpose forces so they serve as a credible support mechanism for the requirements of the Nixon Doctrine.

Traditionally, Americans have had little interest in foreign policy, and even less interest in defense policy because of the fact that circumstances, usually crisis preparedness, has enabled the United States to be virtually undisturbed by the most tumultuous of foreign disturbances. U.S. forces, when they have been needed, have always been mustered in time to save a deteriorating foreign situation from influencing the daily lives of U. S. citizens quite unlike the matter in which tumultuous foreign disturbances have effected the daily lives of many Europeans for nearly all of this century.

We may be coming into an era during the Seventies in which the failure to sustain an appropriate defense policy could result in a situation where the demands of foreign policy could have a daily impact on the routine lives of every American. It is for this reason that our defense policy in the Seventies deserves serious examination. A free people must maintain adequate forces. Such a nation must also maintain the appropriate philosophical predisposition to employ forces that will support its national foreign policy objectives. □

A practical difficulty in the doctrine of Pacifism.

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How Green Grows Your Tale

The Greening of America

by Charles A. Reich
Random House, $7.95

Not very long ago, a regiment of East Coast writers mostly from the Long Island pulp **Newsday**, was mustered to contribute individually lascivious vignettes on the general theme of the drippings of one woman's glands. The whole mess was eventually palmed off to American devotees of belles-lettres as a novel titled **Naked Came the Stranger**, by Penelope Ashe, and no one was the wiser. Shortly thereafter an American art gallery displayed the dauberies of a chimpanzee and the fans of contemporary doodles formed queues in front of the gallery, so eager were they to compare the **chefs-d'oeuvre** of an anthropoid ape with those of their trendy masters. And now a committee of eleven chimpanzees and one Yale professor of law have combined to write a book criticizing the Great Republic's indiscretions while vaticinating on its rosy future.

The Greening of America is a surprising accomplishment for eleven chimpanzees and one Yale law professor. Beyond being well written the book displays considerable erudition — at the very outset one of the chimps has seen fit to quote such abstruse Western philosophes as Mr. Woody Gutherie, Mr. Chet Powers and Wallace Stevens. Further, the tome rests on such a complex vertebra of psycho-socio-economic terms I have come to conclude that the Yale law professor was allowed access to **Psychology Today** by his doctors — the frontiers of mental therapy are truly boundless.

Now, I do not pretend to understand the complicated ideas reposing within this difficult study. The work is far beyond the grasp of my relatively smooth cranium. It seems the authors' recollections of this supermarket republic's sordid history have inspired them to neatly subsume it into two periods, or as the authors poetically put it Consciousness I and Consciousness II.

During these two periods stupidity, wickedness and contradictions were in abundance. But there is hope, for today we stand in the dawn of a third period, a period reeking with sweetness, saintliness and blissful concord. Designated Consciousness III, it would be for any normal man oppressive, boring and preposterous. Yet, so rhapsodically is it described in this book that only a dunderhead would read it and not immediately conclude that he had come upon the contribution of the Yale law professor.

Consciousness I lasted roughly from the apostasy of Britannia's brat to the 1932 coronation of Franklin the Magnificent. These were the great days of pioneer spirit, rugged individualism and limited government. Thomas Jefferson served as Consciousness I's first public relations whiz, and it deranged an entire century of American history, culminating in deepest Babbittry.

Franklin Roosevelt brought apparent deliverance in what the chimps call Consciousness II. Reliant on social tinkering, market control, coercion, and an unhealthy resort to axioms, its crowning achievement is the Welfare State; and it is responsible for practically every contemporary discomfort—not excluding the American proclivity for oversimplification. Consciousness I promised freedom and equality, but it was maculated by the wrong virtues. Consciousness II assumed freedom and equality, but by pursuing security and abstraction it has brought us to the hem of a national nervous breakdown.

Neither the wisdom of the Founding Fathers nor the wisdom of the great Legal Guardian was flawless or capable of vouchsafing contentment to every single solitary Homo sapien from sea to shining sea, so it is back to the drawing boards where we find a lone Yale professor of law, Dr. Charles Reich, laboring mightily.

The author has designed a period of incomparable splendor. In Consciousness III we shall all spend long dulcet hours of contemplation, often emboldened by drugs and primitive music. A new interest in the spiritual dimension will flower, but this will not be like those spiritual monomanias of yesteryear that were forever convulsing the world in religious brainbashings. Oh no! In fact, the Christian deity is hardly mentioned. Further, everyone will be kept quite busy experiencing the wonderful exhilaration of individual creativity. Preferably we will work off this creativity in our vocational activities. But, if a chap in one of the more advanced vocations of Consciousness III, say a blacksmith, has not sweated out all of his creativity in his daily toils, he will skip home and dash off a symphony, or compose a sonnet.

Our lives will be characterized by a profound sense of community, but it will not be the community of the ham-fisted cigar-chomping politician. Nor will it be the dreary world of the township trustees. It will be a world in which we shall all simply do our glorious things. Joyousness will reign, and our nights will be spent in nice warm caves—at least three months out of the year. In this sublime era the likes of Thomas Jefferson and Franklin Roosevelt will be very small change indeed, for the new Chautauqua Circuiteers will be luminaries like Charles Manson and Timothy Leary, Ph. D.

Obviously, the authors are discoursing on a very high plane. They have quite transcended mere economics, political theory, simple technology and the like. Theirs is a spiritual wisdom and humane polity. I feel much like the celebrated scholar who, in reviewing **The Greening of America** for that illustrious journal of Liberal thought, **The Nation**, judged the thesis of the book simply above reproach. He found Reich and the chimps on an entirely different wave length from the rest of us, and I agree.

Nevertheless, there are two final points I should like to make. **The Greening of America** has raised my opinion of the inhabitants of all America's zoos and insane asylums. And despairing capitalists should be encouraged by the enterprising honeyfogelers at Random House. They have finally discovered a lucrative way to publish books without relying on raw sex and cheap thrills.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Awfully Green

If you have a nostalgia for the Middle Ages, you'll really be enthusiastic about Charles Reich's **The Greening of America**. Wow! That was when your work really meant something, for crissake. The Round Table was real wood, not formica, and the leige lord's whip was real leather. Talk about the "good old days"!

The problem with Reich's book is that he is continually trying to prove that Marx was really "right" about capitalism, even though, under America's semi-capitalism, everyone's prosperity has greatly improved. Right because...well, everyone still isn't happy. Reich is one of those liberals who is trying to figure out why the

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New Deal didn't bring heaven to earth. He thinks he's got the answer.

The Greening of America maintains that individualism ("Consciousness I" in Reich's terms) and collectivism-liberalism ("Consciousness II" have each failed to make America an inhabitable country, but that a new outlook ("Consciousness III") is arising among the nation's youth and will turn America "green" again.

A major contradiction is evident in Reich's thesis. The first part of his book tries to show the structure of the society is causing our problems, but his solution is not to try to change the structure, but to change the ideas of the people. If the solution is to change ideas, it is because the problem is the holding of the wrong set of ideas, not the existence of the wrong structure.

Reich sees what is wrong with short-sighted, materialist individualism and criticizes devastatingly some of the liberal dogma, but just when he is saying some sharp things in praise of enlightened individualism, he catches sight of one of his bogeymen (or is it a windmill; and rides off after it: advertising, competition, Nixon Vietnam, alienation, corporations, anti-communism.

Reich still thinks advertising sells us deodorants against our will...although the perfumed Cleopatra would have laughed at the notion. He still thinks workers are uptight because of competition...this is a farce: instead of constant pressure to speed up, to compete, peer group pressure on the job runs more to taking it easy ("Slow down, you move too fast, / Got to make the morning last...") He thinks workers worry all night about holding 40-hour-a-week jobs; like Marx, he seems to think that people are their jobs.

The "common man" is making enough money to buy the things he enjoys, and liberals are climbing the walls. Now the problem with America is supposed to be, not poverty, but "materialism." What bugs people like Reich is that there are fewer unspoiled beaches—but this is true precisely beacuse widespread leisure time and improved transportation allow more people to use these beaches than ever before. This is hardly an indictment of industrialization and capitalism, unless one wishes to return to the time when only the very few had the time or means to get to glamorous shores.

What can one say about Reich's heroes, the waifs of the future, Consciousness III's? The term is a gimmick; he admits that by "Consciousness" he really means something like "outlook" or "worldview" so that the image he gives of almost a new breed, akin to the children with strange powers in **The Village of the Damned**, is incorrect. Calling them "Outlooks I, II, and III" would have been less pseudo-scientific, but would have sold fewer books.

Reich is wrong: one cannot "make a living being a surfer" as he claims. One can't become a doctor (or a stereo repairman) without disciplined training and long-range planning, so Consciousness III's are not going to become the cornerstones of a new society. Reich admits that much of "Consciousness III" derives from drug use—his vision of the greening-to be is rather like pinning one's hopes on the insights of barroom drunks and calling it Consciousness IV.

Insights? Show me a hippy who has "transcended materialism" and I'll show you a $17 pair of real leather sandals and a set of stereo components. In most cases, that is.

That's the thing about Reich...in most cases he's wrong, but when he's right he has said it well. Some I's, II's, and III's are moving beyond status-seeking, as a whole person must. Some individualists are short-sighted; many liberals are masked totalitarians; some hippy-types are not calm merely because they are free-loading, but because they have pulled themselves together psychologically.

It is almost worth wading through the book to have a Yale professor admit: "The State is the party that always accompanies its proposals by coersion, and backs them by force." Perhaps Reich will join Goldwater in Barry's next assault on Big Government, but that would be very radical in New Haven, very radical.

Doug Cooper

Rader's Nadir

Gov't Inspected Meat and Other Fun Summer Things

Dotson Rader

McKay, $5.95

Mr. Dotson Rader is a very personable twenty-seven-year-old who confesses, or boasts, that "the experience of violence, at least for me, creates sexual hunger." That was one of the catchier phrases in his first book, **I Ain't Marchin' Anymore!** (David McKay, 1969), clever and well put, if rather standard new Left balderdash. A former hustler and SDS screamie who's made it big, very very big, as essayist, contributing editor and reviewer (**Evergreen Review**), and anthologizer of New Left fulminations, Dotson Rader is worth watching, definitely worth following closely.

The Southern Review

January 1971

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with

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Whereas Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and various others of their playpen buddies are fundamentally Borscht Belt vaudevillians playing games — dangerous games, I grant — they are, in the end, so outrageous that they are more comedians than serious critics. The older leftists, of course, are another story. Among the young ones, the whites that is (there are some significant young Negro critics with whom we have to contend as well), Rader is the best writer, increasingly growing in stature among the Left. Rader's name, for all I know, may have been concocted by a computer, programmed to print-out something that would connote all sorts of very solid, heavy things and be remembered easily. But Dotson Rader's name will be increasingly heard, and his writings should be recognized by conservatives for what they are.

Rader is personally charming, exceptionally bright, almost frighteningly talented. He is an opponent we would ignore at our peril, one from whom we'll hear much in coming years, from the lecture platform, in journals (he writes also in **Esquire**), on television, in books — that is, we'll hear much from him if he doesn't frag himself some night planting bombs to destroy M-I-C (Military-Industrial-Complex, if there's any doubt.)

Mr. Rader recently became editor of a New Left journal scheduled to appear quarterly in paperback form. As I write this, only one issue of **Defiance: A Radical Review** (Paperback Library, 300 pp., $1.25, Fall, 1970) has been put out for the children to lay down their pennies for; by the time spring rolls around, #2 will have hit the stands — it's scheduled for March. Mr. Rader's own contribution to #1, "On Revolutionary Violence," is probably the best-written article in a generally silly book whose other contributors include Julius Lester, Jack Newfield, Nat Hentoff, Sol Yurick, Gerard Malanga, Tom Seligson, and a few other nouveau (and not so new) gauchistes.

In his piece, Mr. Rader plumps for the V-S-C (Violence-Sex-Complex). He writes in the very fashionable egoistic mode (of which, mea culpa, I'm also guilty), which evaluates everything from a personal stance. The day of "one would think" and "it is certainly obvious" now a thing of the past, at least among younger writers, those, that is, who've stopped trying to sound like G. K. Chesterton.

"On Revolutionary Violence" concerns, kind of, the glories of violence as recounted by a guy having a hard time succeeding with a succession of girls who spend their lucky time in bed with Dotson turning on to thoughts of violence instead of Dotson. Like Vicki, who gets her kicks watching the Bank of America at Isla Vista burn. She kills Dotson's passion because instead of getting down to business, she raps about violence, "which she admitted she dug." Like Dotson, like Vicki.

Well, after establishing his credentials as a stud of sorts, Dotson gets into it, the Revolution, that is. "It's time the democratic left got off its ass and joined the Revolution," he pontificates, meaning

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it's time they got out and spread a little damage around. "State violence has entered the social fabric," led by "old lady Nixon—the New Left never minds a bit of **ad personam** sexual innuendo—and so "true patriots" must join the Resistance against the Silent Majority which runs our "fascistic," "pig-dominated," "murderous" "Amerika." They do have a limited vocabulary, these chaps; but at least it's predictable.

Rader and I recently had at each other on a Boston television show to which he had come in search of buyers for his new novel, of which more anon. I found him personally likeable, friendly, gentle in private, well-motivated at heart. But Dotson is anything but gentle on paper. He concludes his essay in **Defiance** #1 by citing Abbie Hoffman's suggestion that Americans be required to eat the bodies of the dead civilians in Vietnam.

Why? Dotson knows: "To bring the war home...(to) spread violence...over the body of America, paste it across the American consciousness until America...chokes on death and cries Enough!" "Death to the Capitalists! Smash the State! Off the Institutions!" That's the "revolutionary cheer" that Dotson Rader is so cheerful about in his essay. It's all pretty rough stuff, pretty powerfully written, and pretty low from a self-proclaimed friend of "the people."

Rader descends to his nadir, however, not in that essay but in his new novel, **Gov't. Inspected Meat and Other Fun Summer Things** on the cover of which—gotta sell them books, right—sprawls a man's chest, in living color, being caressed by two hands, one white, one Negro. **Gov't. Inspected Meat** is the first-person narrative of "Angel")Dotson himself? We aren't told) whose childhood Negro playmate gets killed and then mutilated by rednecks. "Angel" wends his way to Fun City and becomes a male prostitute, very unsure of his manhood, very vulnerable. He does it with an occasional girl, thinks about it with a lot of men, and isn't quite sure (nor is the reader) about his real sexual bent, even at the end when he splits from New York after a night of debauchery, and heads out to San Francisco.

Gov't Inspected Meat is better-grade pornography, awfully good in descriptive passages, awfully clever throughout, and simply awful in the pro-grammatic part of the political message underlying the plot.

Collective guilt — you remember that — leads whites to crave sex with Negroes; no, invites rape by Negroes would be more accurate. That's Rader's analysis. "Angel" is put off by Negroes who aren't militant and revolutionary enough for him, who are old NAACP-type Uncle Toms even if young in years. "Angel" identifies Virtue with Tough Sex with Militance with Savagery. It's been done before; sado-masochistic literature is hardly an invention of the past decade. But Rader does it exceptionally well.

Rader writes an ugly story. He believes that America has a muddled conception of the true nature of masculinity, which he sees indentified in this society with toughness leading unto violence. He is right, of course, to the degree that some people see it that way and act upon that assumption. In some ways, America's sex mores are ugly; in other ways, more than a trifle idiotic. Rader deserves commendation for ridiculing some of our sex mores, although as a fiction writer he has grossly exaggerated them, parodying them as often as correctly describing them.

But the corrective he suggests is neither correct nor beautiful. It is, instead, a rather clever and not so subtle aspect of a developing New Left strategy, which is this: overturn all our American values in order to overthrow an "evil, racist society"; use sex — any kind will do — as a tool both for humiliation and expiation (humiliation of those who do not match up to their expectations of what "true patriots" should be; expiation of the guilt that is supposed to reside in all of us — the 'We all killed Martin Luther King" syndrome); destroy America by corrupting her virtues.

The question of "sexism" in America is deserving of attention. The excesses of the Women's Liberation harridans, the comical outlandishness of some of the Gay Liberation antics, and the current fad for analyzing "sexism" has obscured for more sober minds the reality of the problem in America. But Rader's alternative to "sexism" is grotesque. **Gov't Inspected Meat** is an excellent novel; as a program for action, it is repugnant.

David Brudnoy

Mr. Brudnoy is a cosmopolitan residing in Boston. He is a regular contributor to Ideas, National Review, New Guard *and* Counterpoint.

The Radical Left

Edited by Gerberding and Smith

Houghton Mifflin Co. $8.95

While reading this book be cautious how you rest it on your lap, for certain essays may slop out. In fact, you would be wise to place it on a level table while reading it, lest some of the soupier essays run onto your lap and ruin your clothing. **The Radical Left** is not very well put together. It is lamentably uneven, with trivial essays protruding from the sound essays and slippery analysis sliding throughout the text.

Perhaps, unevenness was inevitable for the segment of America's Liberal intellectual community from which the bulk of these essays derive is in a well nurtured chrysalis. Some are emerging as libertarians. Burkean Whigs, or prosopopoeias of the old Federalism, while others are simply malingering in befuddlement. The soundest essays in this collection manifest the first tendencies. The sloppier are stultified by confusion and diffidence. Ultimately, a variation of Gresham's Law affects the book (much as it regulates discourse in our great republic); that is to say, the second-rate blowzerisms tend to drive out the first-rate ideas. And in **The Radical Left**, the half-baked thoughts have prevailed over the intelligent entries, for the book's editors are not quite clear about the New Left and have ignored important considerations while including whole chapters of essays only tangentially significant to the discussion of the New Left.

In their introduction, the editors tell us they are taking "the new radicals seriously but looking with a skeptical eye..." Obviously, there is something wrong with that eye, for the editors never do locate their proclaimed quarry, the new radical. They seem to recognize his tracks, and they hold a desultory discussion of the mark he has left, but their mention of his characteristics never gets very specific. I was never convinced that they understood the creature they were stalking, and their competence remained a mystery to me until the last two essays when it became apparent that these hunters of the New Left had brought the wrong equipment. They were armed for chipmunk when they should have been prepared for weasel.

Without a more precise description of the New Left on which to base their discussion, the editors' brief sketch of the purposes for pursuing the New Left seemed remote, and consequently the book lacked focus. Apparently sensitive to this ambiguity, the editors subtly beg exculpation by stating: "One of the reasons for the difficulty of describing the contours of the new radicalism is the refusal of its

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adherents to spell out their ideological goals with any degree of precision." Well, now this difficulty would naturally hinder any writer, but it need not cause paralysis. After all, Mr. Alphonso Capone was lackadaisical about spelling out his "ideological goals with any degree of precision"; yet students of his career had little difficulty in describing him. To them, he was a thug and a gangster, and they based their conclusions not on his program for the future, but on his current activity.

The New Left is composed of miscreants and revolutionaries, and while not complex, this description is accurate and comprehensive; sound analysis may proceed from here. Many of the book's essays do proceed from this understanding, and readers will find these essays intelligent and helpful. But Messrs. Gerberding and Smith's essays do not. Their contributions are weak and fuzzy — though eloquent in expressing why the intellectuals are so often ensnared by New Left rhetoric and immobilized by New Left tactics.

What some of the soundest writers in this collection (men such as Irving Kristol and Nathan Glazer) know so well and what the editors must realize, is that the New Left utterly renounces every vestige of Liberal democracy. That Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis have been negligent about presenting a prospectus for their post-Amerika America is hardly worth meditating on when a mob of misanthropes begin torching the library.

Even when poked at and pondered on, the New Left's adumbrations of Utopia are neither terribly interesting nor substantively stimulating, but their inspirations for and methods of ushering in Utopia are interesting. Moreover their inspirations and their methods are determining factors of their movement.

Their inspirations are grievance and ululation, and the typical New Leftist suffers a perpetual case of cerebral diaper rash. He chafes at the world probably because he is A) bored, B) ill-informed and C) typically American. The fact that David Dellinger says America is an imperialist aggressor does not make it so. Because jeremiads resound from the New Politics crowd about forty million Americans going to bed hungry every night is not cause for declaring a national state of emergency and turning the Department of Defense into a bakery.

The New Left finds problems in America because it wants to find problems in America, and it wants to find problems because it wants to overturn society. The effluvium of contemporary western thought has sickened them to the point that there simply is not much else worth doing. The New Left has been most forthright about its yearning for confrontation. Mario Savio admitted after Berkeley's glorious revolution that the issue of "free speech" was a "pretext" to incite students. When the smoke cleared from Columbia, Mark Rudd must have punctured the illusions of a lot of doting Liberals when he asserted that "we manufactured the issues."

Still, one cannot expect meliorists to exchange their dulcet fancies for grim reality, and there still remains a mob of educators and politicos whose nostrum is "dialogue" or some other euphemism for irresolution. Such dunderheads would benefit only marginally by reading John R. Searle's excellent essay (and let us now turn to those essays banished by Gresham's Law), "A Foolproof Scenario for Student Revolution." As Searle points out, their solicitude for "reformed education" does not issue from the heart. Today's New Leftists see the university purely as a breeding ground for revolution, and the Achilles' heel of liberal democracy.

Another fine contribution to this collection is Melvin J. Lasky's moving "Revolution Diary." Lasky eloquently portrays the infantilism of the revolutionary conformists in Europe during the 1968 season, reminding us of the juvenescence of the magnificos in the media and on embattled university faculties. Lasky, the editor of the British intellectual journal, **Encounter**, conveys the idealism of traumatized children and the great expectations of those jejune European intellectuals who seem to long for excitement that comes only from monumental events like world wars. After reading their manifestos, the civilized man cannot help wondering how the European manages to walk upright; but

Democratic Students' Directory

Recently a meeting of Liberal, moderate and conservative students from forty American universities met outside Washington, D.C., to discuss campus disorder and anti-democratic threats originating within the intellectual community. The following students have expressed a commitment to the restoration of an academic atmosphere within their university. Their goal is to stop the further politicalization of the university and to curb campus violence through democratic channels. If you are interested in joining their cause contact the student located on your campus or write George Taylor, P.O. Box 4731, Columbus, Ohio, 43202.

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then their New World equivalents are not always terribly successful at impersonating the Homo sapiens either.

Almost the entire section on students and the universities is second-rate, and its authors rise only occasionally from their fatuous misrenderings of the students' plight to palm off an embarrassing banality. Even Sidney Hook's incisive "The Prospects of the Academy" fails to redeem this section. Had the editors possessed a more profound knowledge of their subject they might have included essays by Bruno Bettelheim, James Burnham, Frank Meyer or Robert Nisbet—though I suspect such essays would bring perspiration to their hat bands.

Throughout the remainder of the book, you will have difficulty finding an intelligent line. There is an essay by Irving Kristol (whose serene awareness is always so refreshing) which raises the question of a society's need for "values" so gently yet so challengingly that I considered the matter manfully without any fears for my libertarian purity. Though other intellectuals may compete with Kristol's eloquence and knowledge, few will approach his wisdom. And Nathan Glazer's doubts about the New Left are irrefragable. His second essay on the "American Race Paradox" complements James Q. Wilson's thoughtful essay—especially his discussion of America's complicated pattern of group life. Edward Banfield and Herbert McClosky try to shed some light on how the American Frankenstein has managed to survive these two hundred years, concluding that America's political system is not nearly so monstrous as the New Left would have us believe.

But, from here we move into the turbid final essays written by the editors, who, perhaps in a moment of waggishness, have separated their two essays with a burlesque by none other than Professor Eric Sevareid. In the final essays Messrs. Gerberding and Smith show a healthy disgust with the New Left and with much of The West's zeitgeist that encouraged the New Left's growth; yet they are themselves afflicted with some of the radicals' hallucinations—most especially when they mention Vietnam. So as I stated at the outset this is a weak book, the product of an evolving school of thought. The editors manifest this change most dramatically, and I shall remember them in my prayer chamber.

R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr.

The Unheavenly Movie

RAP

On 11 December 1970, I attended one of the public screenings of the New England Student Film Festival, which was being held at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. That night, there were at least two or three hundred students in the audience. Some of the films shown were excellent, and all of them were interesting--except for one: RAP.

In its color and in its perspective on America, RAP is a black-and-white film. Its running time is twenty-five minutes, which, allowing for the film's good moments, is about twenty-four and a half minutes too long. The film is about a Boston University student organization called—you'll never guess—"RAP." RAP operates a telephone service for students who are experiencing psychological, drug-related, or other difficulties. These students can call up and talk with students in RAP, who try to be sympathetic and to give the troubled students advice, including information about professional organizations that might be able to help them.

Taken by itself, this is fine, but, as the film shows, the RAP members see themselves not simply as people trying to help other people but as part of a cultural avant-garde and as missionaries to the student freak "communities."

In the film, the head of RAP—all right, there probably is more than one head in RAP—Howard Levitt, adopting the sort of stupefying sociological jargon that infects the pages of **Psychology Today**, explains the organization's goal and activities. When he describes how he feels when he is manning the phones, he characterizes himself as someone who is ready to deal with the unanticipated and who dispenses parts of his personality on demand.

Whether anyone wants his personality in whole or part and whether the help he and his associates offer is worth a ten-cent phone call are questions that apparently never have penetrated that mass of confusions which is Mr. Levitt's mind.

The film includes a segment on a RAP meeting, during which the participants talk and talk and talk about what they are doing and how they feel about it. This uninteresting discussion is presided over by a Boston University chaplain, Reverend Jack Smith, who is RAP's advisor. His advice consists mainly of amens to the banalities uttered by his flock of concerned and aware students. In another segment of the film Reverend Smith lauds the young and criticizes the failures of older Americans.

Alternating with the scenes of RAP members talking on phones, RAP members talking with each other, and Mr. Levitt and Reverend Smith explaining the meaning and extolling the beauty of it all, are scenes taken during the May 1970 student strike. Recordings of remarks by President Nixon are voiced over many of the strike scenes. In these remarks, President Nixon condemns violence on campus, assigns the blame for it to those who engage in it, and explains that he once used the term "bums" to characterize not all students but only violent students.

The alternation of the RAP scenes and the strike scenes is intended to show that, even in the midst of political and social upheaval, a group of concerned, idealistic young people are able and willing to help other young people, and the Nixon voice-over is designed to contrast the meaningless pieties of a heartless President with the noble struggles of compassionate and committed students. These two hackneyed techniques would work only if the audience were to find the film's cultural and political positions so appealing that it was prepared to forgive the film's aesthetic flatness. Last year, a typical student audience in Cambridge would have been prepared to forgive; this year, it was not.

When RAP ended, there were sighs of relief and even hisses and boos from the students in the M.I.T. auditorium. And during the film, when President Nixon's voice was on, there were not, as there most probably would have been last year, hisses and obscene comments. Instead there was silence, what might even be called a respectful silence. It may have been that, to some of the students, whatever their opinions of President Nixon, his remarks about campus violence made sense. In any case, RAP's flop at the film festival must have disappointed its director, a Boston University student named so help me—James Paradise.

Terry Krieger

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Nichols on the Silver Screen

Catch-22

A few years ago I heard Joseph Heller, author of **Catch-22**, speak before a college audience. He was a member of a panel discussing the modern novel. The other members of the panel were two professors of English. One of the professors talked for what seemed to be eight hours, in that unique and maddening English-professor language, which is almost but not quite English. He spoke (or, to be exact, mumbled) of symbols and dichotomies and genres and metaphysical quiddities. He then sat down to thundering silence. The other professor mumbled the same things only in more complicated terms, pausing from time to time to remember what he had just said and then plunge on.

Funally Heller spoke. He spoke in English. I could understand every word, not every sixth or seventh word as had been the case with the English teachers. He spoke quite simply, with a great deal of self-deprecatory humor, and at the end of his little talk I almost wept for joy because in the midst of a panel discussion (the academic equivalent of the **bastinado**) someone had cared enough to speak in a human voice. I have mentioned this only to point out that what is written below was composed more in sorrow than in anger.

I had read **Catch-22** a few years before I heard Heller speak. The book had puzzled me. There were parts that were very funny, but when I tried to pin down exactly

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what it was that Heller was saying things got a bit sticky.

It seemed that he was saying that war is irrational and bad for you under any circumstances. Now, this in itself is not an original or even a very persuasive thesis. People have been saying and writing things like that for eons and people also have been fighting wars for eons. No, he was not saying the obvious — but what was he saying? All the non-sequiturs juxtaposed with the horrors of war, all the play on words, all the emphasis on individual survival and personal responsibility for disassociating oneself from obviously irrational undertakings, all the energy poured into the task of making anyone in authority look either criminal, stupid or insane...what was the ultimate purpose of it all? Surely Heller did not write such a long and involved book to merely make us laugh at the alleged pretensions of the American military; surely he was not arguing that American involvement in World War II was criminally insane....

Or was he? In order to talk about **Catch-22**, I found I had to take it seriously. Heller was attempting to say something important, not only about a group of Air Corps men in World War II, but about the way of the world. Yet every time I tried to figure out just what **Catch-22** was all about, *nothing seemed to fit.*

In short, I laughed at **Catch-22** but I knew that laughter was not all that Heller had expected from his readers. But every possible philosophical position (even one that held that he had no philosophical position) I used as a basis for understanding the true meaning of **Catch-22** led to one of two conclusions: either Heller had written a long series of punch-lines, non-sequiturs and logical absurdities just for the fun of it, or he was not quite sure what he wanted to say, and had taken over three hundred pages to do it. Neither of these answers was satisfactory, so I did what any red-blooded American boy would do in such circumstances — I stopped thinking about it.

I stopped, that is, until **Mike Nichols** made a movie based on **Catch-22**. When it first came out I wasn't in the movie-going mood or was broke or something or other, and I did not see the film. I did read the reviews and they were, as they say, interesting. Vincent Canby of the **New York Times** said it was the best picture he had seen so far in 1970. Others felt Nichols had blown the whole thing, and still others implied that the film was sort of a black-humor version of **Bridge on the River Kwai**, anti-war in a nice, safe orthodox way, but chock full of Mike Nichols' special kind of magic.

Recently I caught up with this film. I walked out somewhere near the end of it, mumbling to myself through gritted teeth, angry that I had spent two dollars for the privilege of seeing Mike Nichols be indecisive for over two hours. But on the way home I began to think about the film and the more I thought, the more I was convinced that in the film **Catch-22** we have more than just a movie. We have a compendium of what is wrong with the liberal view of the world. The film is bad partly because it succeeds too well (if unintentionally) in exposing the book's lack of intellectual depth, but in essence the film fails on its intrinsic lack of worth as a film (i.e., it fails because Mike Nichols as director simply could not cope with the philosophical problems involved).

In short, the film **Catch-22** is (to use a word borrowed shamelessly from William F. Buckley) a paradigm of American Liberalism in all its intellectual shallowness, philosophical confusion and surface glitter. No one but a Liberal could have written **Catch-22**; no one but a Liberal could have made this kind of film from that kind of book. It is the quintessentially Liberal film of our time and it fails because it is unable to transcend the basic emptiness of Liberalism.

It is—again like Liberalism—a kind of magnificent failure. There are moments, even entire scenes, which leave you aching for more, for they are nothing less than perfect. There are performances that are good and one—Alan Arkin's as Yossarian—that is very good. But the thing, as a whole, is a colossal disaster, a pretentious and embarassing disaster, a disaster of the eye and of the intellect, a disaster of heroic proportions, for when **Catch-22** goes down, it not only goes down by itself—it brings with it every fashionable Liberal attitude ever held. It does to the future of philosophically serious Liberal films what the last flight of the **Hindenburg** did for the future of zeppelins.

Mike Nichols' **Catch-22** is a thin child's garden of Liberal clichés. Here are two of my favorites:

1. **All officers in our armed forces are semi-fascist, stupid, greedy, bloody-minded and anti-democratic.**

Now if there is one point about satire which has been made from Chaucer to Evelyn Waugh, it is this: in order to be able to poke fun at someone or something you have to be standing somewhere. Satire pokes fun at human vices and follies—but in order to know what a folly or vice is, the would-be satirist must have a firm idea of what is good and desirable. The numerous pokes Nichols-Heller take at the armed forces just do not come off because when you ask the relevant question—if the military, as you portray it, is this bad, what do you propose in its place?—you get no answer. The only philosophically respectable position that can make such an absolute claim about the absurdity of the military is pacifism. But Liberals are notoriously "pragmatic," i.e., they are said to judge each case on its own merits. The Israeli Army is o.k.; the American Army in Vietnam is not. If the American armed forces as they exist are not desirable, what kind of American armed forces are?

The Liberals have no answer because they have no philosophical basis from which to judge the question. Their ridicule of the armed forces is a reflex action—mention a general and the Liberal smiles, but he smiles for much the same reason his knee jerks when the doctor hits it—reflex. Much of **Catch-22** depends on this kind of reflex action from its audience. Nichols is buying laughs, on the cheap, as it were. He knows that if he makes the correct sounds, his audience has been trained to laugh—but never once does he even hint from what moral vantage he is poking fun at the military.

Now all of the above is in no way an argument for not being beastly to the military. Military life is abundant with absurdities (see Waugh's "Sword of Honour" trilogy) and is a fair target for the satirist. The important word is satirist, i.e., someone who ridicules vices and follies. Nichols-Heller is not a satirist, only a wise guy. No one reading the book, or seeing the film, can guess just what Nichols-Heller believes is good and desirable and for a very good reason: Liberalism simply cannot provide a philosophical basis for such judgments.

2. **All war is a futile exercise engaged in by desperate men driven by mindless leaders for unknowable purposes. The duty of any sane man is to avoid war at any cost.**

There is a scene in **Catch-22** which for tastelessness should win Nichols some kind of award. The scene is an Italian brothel: Natley (played by Garfunkel of Simon and) is talking to an old Italian who claims to be one hundred seven years old. The old Italian is proud that he switches sides when the opportunity presents itself. When the Fascists are in power he is Fascist; when the Americans come in he loves America. He implies that this is an Italian attitude, and that the Americans (like Natley) are fools for fighting when a man can live well by simply switching sides and bending with the wind, etc.

There are a number of things offensive in this scene. At a time in American and world history when ethnic stereotypes are more and more being enjoyed by fewer and fewer, Nichols has the consummate gall to place this vicious ethnic caricature in the middle of his film. One wonders why he did not have a greedy Jew or a shuffling black man along to join in the ethnic fun. But what is most offensive is the argument of the scene. We are obviously to believe that what the Italian is saying is what Nichols believes; the scene works that way, and the lines Garfunkel has are all simplistic, patriotic truisms, meant to be snickered at.

Now if this is what Nichols does believe, that is one thing, but he must go all the way. If he does believe it makes no difference which side you choose as long as you survive, then he logically must believe that civil rights workers who risk their lives are fools, and that those who fought the Nazis in Europe were fools. Obviously he does not mean this. But then what does he mean? Again, he is making easy points with his audience, but only at the price of intellectual dishonesty.

"PROTOCOL NOTES: *The New York Times (e.g., July 24), in reporting the trial in New Haven for the murder of Alex Rackley, refers throughout to Warren Kimbro, the government witness, as 'Kimbro,' to George Sams, another government witness, as 'Sams'—and to Bobby Seale, head of the Black Panther Party and a co-defendant, as 'Mr. Seale.'"*

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The Bootblack Stand

Dr. George Washington Plunkitt, our prize-winning political analyst, has just completed a penetrating study of the last Congolese election. Published in August, it focuses on the unique position of minority groups in the Congolese electoral process; it can be purchased in all bookstores. It is titled **Escape! A New Demand Response System.** Now, the distinguished Dr. Plunkitt has agreed to, through this column, advise American statesmen in this time of troubles. Address all correspondence to The Bootblack Stand, c/ o The Establishment, R.R. 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401, Continental U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

My advisers have urged me to write you, for they fear I have made a shortsighted decision which may imperil my future political career—or my destiny, as Mrs. Fulbright is wont to call it.

Several weeks ago, I publicly announced that I intended, upon my death, to bequeath my organic remains to the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. Do you think this was politically unwise?

Sincerely,
Senator William Fulbright

Dear Senator Fulbright:

Much, of course, will depend upon when you depart terra firma for points north. But I should think your decision to leave your body to the University of Arkansas School of Medicine is at least wasteful. I suggest that your noble remains could be put to far better use if bequeathed to the Tit Tat Canneries, producers of Tit Tat Cat Food and Deodorant.

However, if you do feel that your political career has already been damaged, I suggest you back out of this arrangement with the Medical School by using a subterfuge. See that there is a crackdown on the moonshine trade at the University of Arkansas. The whole medical school will have to pack up and head for the Ozarks.

–GWP

Dear Mr. Plunkitt:

You might not have heard of me. My name is Richard Friedman, and I am the Republican candidate in Chicago's mayoralty election this April. My Democratic opponent is Mr. Mayor J. Daley, the present Mayor of Illinois. How do you suggest I run my campaign?

Cordially,
Richard Friedman

Dear Mr. Friedman:

I am delighted to hear from you, for I was almost certain the Republicans would challenge Mayor Daley's bid for a fifth consecutive term (Incidentally Mr. Daley's first name is not, contrary to popular opinion Mayor. His birth certificate clearly bears the name Richard J. Daley, Mayor).

As to your campaign strategy, I suggest you make your pitch for the sympathy vote. But, in your neighborhood appearances, beware. Do not speak in those neighborhoods adjacent to insane asylums; they might not let you out —even to vote.

–GWP

If on the other hand, he does believe that survival is the only thing that counts, he must have some reason for wanting to survive. But the only reason to survive is to be able to live your life the way you want to, and not the way other people want you to lead it. This, however, is precisely one of the things wars are all about, and why men have been fighting them for five thousand years.

This kind of intellectual dishonesty permeates the film at every level. There is a performance by Orson Welles which is incredibly bad. He plays the arch-typical semi-fascist general, with about as much conviction as a fire hydrant. But what else can he do with such a cardboard character? This kind of strawman has been with us since God knows when, and if there is any point in dragging him in at this late date at least he should be given something to do. But no, it is enough for Nichols to have paid ritual obeisance to the Liberal taboo.

There is a scene where the men about to go on a mission are going crazy over a well-proportioned female aide to Welles. We have seen this obligatory scene in every film about World War II since **This is the Army** and it **still** is not funny, but Nichols does not know that and lingers on the moaning and groaning of the men as if it were a witty scene out of high Restoration comedy.

For those who love really sophisticated Liberal commentary on the meaning of it all, don't miss Martin Balsam sitting on the bowl defecating. Yes, that's right kids, right there in living color good old Martin Balsam on the bowl. It's really bold and daring and it really says something really profound about daring Mike Nichols, and about the daring Liberal ethics out of which he created this pointless, mindless, tasteless, hypocritical, phony movie.

John Avey

Editorial I

(continued from page 2)

imbecilic episode, of course, but not uninstructive. For it is typical of our nation, while attempting to realize ethnic justice for its disparate groups, to fall prey to demagogues. When such a nation allows itself to drift from constitutional moorings, it is vulnerable to blustering winds. Today, America is culturally adrift; if its leaders do not anchor themselves in reason and intelligence, the humane values of American civilization will quietly fall away along with the discredited vices of yesteryear.

As startling as it is for a nation to, in less than a decade, silently reverse its sanctions (some a century old) against pornography, drugs and abortions, it is more startling still to reflect on the absence of debate that these abrogations have caused among intellectuals, religious leaders and statesmen.

Our past has embraced prejudice and inequality, but it has also respected tolerance, lawfulness and more recently—reason and non-violence. Within the contemporary screeds denouncing American racialism and war has come a contempt for lawfulness and reason, a confusion over violence and the use of illicit force. Much of this has come—most paradoxically—from the intellectuals hot on the trail of justice. Their criticism of America's imperfections has been transformed into disregard and finally distaste for their country. The American intellectual has grown weary of debating principles and discriminating vices and virtues. Indeed, so dissipated has he become that today the American intellectual is—at his best—a first-rate juggler of second-rate ideas, and—at his worst—a religious fanatic mindlessly intoning a litany of buncombe. Obviously, the paradigmatic American intellectual is no intellectual at all. And his actions show that he is no lover of democracy.

A new form of anti-Semitism has grown on the fringes of the intellectual class along with the American intellectuals' increased anti-intellectualism, intolerance and justification of violence. It flourishes in the brutal rhetoric of black nationalists and often creeps into the utterances of white new leftists. Among the former it rides tandem with their anti-capitalism; among the latter it issues from their tendentious critique of American foreign policy. Black militants claim that Jewish landlords and shopkeepers exploit and oppress slum dwellers. They attack (at times, physically) Jewish school teachers for practicing "cultural genocide" on black school-children. The black militants also condemn Israel as a white, racist, colonial state that is an enemy of the anti-imperialists' "Third World" with which they identify.

As in so many other instances, white radicals follow the lead of the black militants and add their own slanders. American Jews are vigorous advocates of the liberal democracy the radicals despise, and participants in the capitalist system they want to destroy. Parroting Soviet propagandists, they characterize Israel as an expression of "bourgeois reactionary nationalism" that stands in the way of "revolutionary internationalism," i.e., Arab nationalism. The anti-Semitism of many Jewish radicals seems to be a manifestation of Jewish self-hatred. Many intellectuals have provided ideological justification and political support for this anti-Semitism. The Department of Defense might well envy their seemingly inexhaustible arsenal of apologies for the intimidation of and assaults on Jews working, teaching or living in predominantly black slums. And their suggestions for Israeli demarche are as inventive as they are disingenuous.

(continued on page 20)

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"They're attacking whites, not Jews." "They're against Zionists, not all Jews." "Israel should be more reasonable" (that is, it should make itself available for annihilation).

Thus, in the intellectual class we see a growth of illiberality among the majority, and an arrant ethnic hatred among the dynamic—but unhinged—minority.

Meanwhile, out in Middle America the scene is not so clear. Like the intellectual, the middle Americano is uncertain. He has never inhabited a land fecund with principles, and today his environs are more barren than ever.

Regarding minorities, we are all painfully aware of his insentience to the plight of the blacks, and, in 1942, he allowed over two hundred thousand Japanese to be shipped to "the interior" by FDR, the nation's most Liberal president yet. Finally, as Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab assert in **The Politics of Unreason**, the Twentieth Century was his century for anti-Semitism.

Further, the middle Americano is suspicious of the intellectuals and uncomfortable about their direction of American foreign and domestic policy. Unexpected repercussions from Southeast Asia and reversals in those domestic areas that the intellectuals have proctored these last few years (i.e., welfare, the mixed economy, social planning) could trigger a mindless, but ferocious backlash against the intellectuals.

The significant point is that for many middle Americanos the intellectual is a Jew! Nathan Glazer has pointed out that though Jews form but three per cent of the population, they compose "more than a third of the faculties of elite schools, and more than ten per cent of the faculty population as a whole." The situation among students is roughly the same, and the publishing industry "has been transformed in the past fifteen years into a largely Jewish industry."

Thus, in a nation of withered principles where the intellectuals suffer a kind of intellectual palsy, and the potentially anti-Semitic masses confront blatantly anti-Semitic intellectualized extremists, it really makes no difference who wins this cultural and political struggle. Either way the Jew loses.

Ironically, it has been the Jew whose traditions in religion, learning, government and the arts have been essentially conservative, holding fast to the slowly accumulated experience of the ages and renewing that knowledge only in light of what had gone before. If the Jew in America is in peril, then it is the conservative who must come to his rescue, for the liberal, expedient as ever in his alliances, has found it useful to countenance anti-Semitism as a grotesque form of compensatory social justice. Liberals are rather more artful than reactionaries at the dirty business of finding scapegoats; their self-serving maneuvers are even now exposing the Jew to the fury of the Third World liberationists and the Black revolutionaries.

Conservatives must likewise repudiate the know-nothing populists whose aboriginal anti-Semitism is still grounded in the protocols of the Elders of Zion.

In sum, it might be wise for Jews to invite conservatives home to lunch. □

Editorial II

Where the Lemmings Are

For centuries the behavior of the Scandinavian lemming (species, **Lemmus**) has baffled the most eminent scientists. These tiny rodents bedenizen all Scandinavia and after breeding in the cool mountain reaches, transacting their business in lightly wooded areas and indulging their muses in the delightful meadows of the upcountry, they suddenly pack their bags and enter upon a most tragic journey. They congregate into dense masses and stream down from the mountains, abandoning themselves to the tender mercies of the snowy owl, drowning by the bushelful in ponds and streams, and leaving their brethren in splats of matted goo on city streets. Hysteria seizes Nordic civilization as vast armies of lemmings scurry through the cities and on. Peace does not return until enormous swarms of these most pitiful of God's creatures repose belly-up in the oceans—which seem their ultimate destination.

Now much has been written about this perplexing phenomenon, but no one seems to understand the lemming. Some consider him an inherent malcontent. Others, adherents to behavioral analysis, lay his fate to ecological depredations, generation conflicts and possibly technological imprudence—for instance, exposure to DDT. Still others consider the lemming a victim of mass hysteria or just plain stupid. All are concerned about the lemmings' self-destructive travels, but certainly none condones them. I cannot think of a single scientist who—upon viewing the perverse behavior of lemmings during the sixties—was moved to applaud their actions or even to admire their motives. Certainly no man with a ray of light in his cranium would call this "the most idealistic generation ever" or write a book prophesying a peaceful, irresistible, revolution by lemmings. And if anyone would write such a book no one would read

(continued on page 21)

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor:

Until today, I had great hope in The Alternative as a responsible organ for conservatism, and ergo, democracy. I had envisioned your fine journal as the voice of "what's right with America", tolling the sweet bell of insight in lucid contrast to most contemporary student journalism. But now I have been let down, and my disillusionment is not banishd by Mr. Buckley's compliments to your work. (Buckley's nationally published column recently extolled The Alternative's zaniness-ed). Not until today, when I received my February issue, did I become suspicious of your real intentions and begin to probe your positional innuendoes. My incredulity has become disappointment — I had believed in you!

First, you ridicule the keystone of our democratic, or republican, system in "Great Moments in the Ninety-First Congress, Part I". This alone I might have been able to understand as an example of the occasional irresponsible journalism that slips into any literary accomplishment. Unfortunately, coupled with your article by Mr. Moynihan, I fear my suspicions are correct. You people are leftists! In Moynihan's calling for "great complexifiers" he has insulted the native simplicity of Middle Americans, and you allowed this tripe to go un-rebutted! Your toleration of such ideas implies espousal of them.

Even this I could excuse, as imagaination, but all of the aforementioned indications plus my final observation left me no doubt. You probably could have maintained your facade of conservatism and continued to warp your readers by little subtleties-that-they-were-not-even-conscious-of-being-influenced-by, if your cover had not given you away. Really, Abraham Lincoln portrayed in a thinly-veiled black-power salute, don't you think that was a little flagrant? You might under-estimate our perceptive powers.

In conclusion, I would like to commend your ingenuity in emulating a true conservative stance, and hope someday that you find yourself giving up this fraud and turning to the true conservatism. I recognize that in one's youth it is difficult to restrain radical tendencies, but I must caution you that we don't need any more extremism. I shall remain on your mailing list to keep my well-trained eyes upon further subversive tendencies.

Really conservatively yours,
William Quigley, Jr.
Purdue University

To the Editor:

Enclosed is a check for a one year subscription to your excellent, and I must say fair, magazine.

Keep up the good work. There is support perhaps more than anyone realizes for your position.

Sincerely yours,
Robert F. Johnston, Jr.
Denison University
Granville, Ohio 43023

To the Editor:

The Alternative is fantastic! I have never read anything as intellectually stimulating and funny.

Sincerely,
Ronald R. Hauser
Cleveland State University
Brook Park, Ohio 44142

TO THE EDITOR:

I was recently introduced to your devious publication by a member of that insidiously rightist organization, ISI. Being a poor graduate student (no pun intended), I am curious about the possibilities of free subscriptions. This may sound like a clever leftist bid, but I find that your equally clever and dastardly extremism provides the nourishment I need while I [illegible] one of our country's citadels of learning, morality, etc.

REQUEST REJECTED

Any encouragement, nourishment, revolutionary-exterminator kits, etc. (not to mention a subscription!) will be humbly and rightfully accepted.

Plottingly yours,
William C. Johnson
Denver, Colorado 80222

(Continued from page 21)

it. For these massive demonstrations accomplish no palpable purpose aside from attracting seasonal headlines and fleeting recognition for the singular lemming who manages to get himself photographed in the Oslo Times, commiting a hideous indiscretion at a public sauna or floundering into the King's soup. For the march of the lemmings appears to most conscious thinking persons as inconsiderate, obnoxious, mindless, justified only on the most morally imaginative premises and probably counterproductive.

How different are the men who produce scientific monographs about the march of the lemmings from the pundits who produce hot air about the march of the "anti-war" demonstrators. The scientist rests his case on facts; the pundit stands on myths. The scientist's method is reason; the pundit's is emotionalism. And where the scientist judges every creature's behavior against a single standard, the pundit has a whole deck of standards. The pundit applies his most fastidious standard to Presidents, Vice Presidents and in fact any individual achiever possessed of talent and quality. For conservatives, moderates, or just plain average persons uninterested in cultural or political revolution (Joe Frazier was the most recent to suffer this judgment), he maintains a rigorous standard of conduct in contrast with which the behavioral standard of his predecessors shows Zeus to have been a slacker and Yahweh to be hopelessly permissive. But for the peace demonstrator and cultural or political revolutionaries he reserves a standard that is admirably tempered, reasonable and understanding—indeed, his heart skips a beat at the merest thought of them.

Imagine the response of the pundits if a group led by, say, Bob Hope, Billy Graham, Senator Goldwater and the Grand Shaman of the Ku Klux Klan planned an April march on Washington supporting Mr. Nixon's strategy for peace in Vietnam. And imagine that this was about their third march for this purpose. Furthér, imagine that violence and destruction had always attended their demonstrations and that the war continued unaffected by their displays.

First of course, Hope, Graham and Goldwater would be reviled by the New York Times for associating with known racists, and the demonstration would be described as racist-inspired or as a racist front. Secondly, no CBS correspondent would ever appear on the evening news standing incongruously before a gas station in desolate Valdez, New Mexico and reporting how the citizens of Valdez have collected their nickels to send Johnny Pruit to represent Valdez at Bob Hope's Peace March. And of course the march would never be called a peace march because according to the pundits' standards only leftists are "peace" marchers. Anyone who views foreign policy differently from Senator McGovern is ipso facto not interested in peace. This demonstration would be termed "hawkish" or "patriotic" or "pro-administration", and the epithet "peace" would remain safely reserved for those demonstrators that the pundits feel are really interested in peace. Finally some editorialists would have to remind us that participants in Mr. Hope's last demonstration were "provocative" or violent and anyway this is Hope's third time around on this stunt, "which neither seems to represent the will of the majority of citizens nor to be terribly effective in ending the war. So what is the real point of one more demonstration?"

As winter's sobering winds fade before spring's balmy breezes, we again hear the rustlings of the peace demonstrators. Last spring they massed on Washington with

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(continued from page 21)

such force that the New Republic proclaimed the November elections would bring the dawn of a new politics. The Nation assured us that their force would endure even beyond the November elections, and how different the Ninety-Second Congress would be!

Unfortunately by election day 1970 the peace demonstrators were all floating belly-up in the security of their dormitories or perhaps on park benches. Despite such ingenious proposals as the Princeton Plan the peace students were really not very prominent at the polls and not even the pundits could find them active at the precinct level (the only student groups that noticeably participated in campaigns were Young Americans for Freedom and Young Republicans, as the New York Times dolefully admitted). The peace students make their migrations in the spring and like the lemmings their march is generally obnoxious, mindless, justified only on the most mysterious suppositions and probably counterproductive. Their officious scamperings through American cities manifest little awareness of the toughness of statecraft. Yet the men who observe the peace lemmings will offer diverse explanations for this peculiar behavior, and—unlike the scientist—they will, in their concern, condone the actions of the peace lemmings.

It is cool and secure out on the campuses now. But the lemmings are sensing a distant pulse. Their distraction will increase, and soon they will cease to breed and frolic in the meadows. They will close shop and begin to rumble down toward Washington. Many will arrive on 24 April. The pundits will be justifiably concerned by this tragic emigration but do they really have to condone it? Only a ninny sympathizes with a rodent.

George Nathan

CONTINUING CRISIS

(continued from page 2)

thing." The chairman of the Young Americans for Freedom doubted the effort would succeed.

- Dr. John Edward Corbally Jr. became the thirteenth president of the University of Illinois and declared that the young generation is "far ahead of any before." The Unidex poll of college students found that just over half of them could name both their senators.
- The General Student Senate at the University of Maine decided to finance loans from the university's student activities fees for coeds purchasing abortions in New York. New Mexico State University announced that it has in the last two years graduated 250 students with degrees in horseshoeing.
- Dr. Edward Bloomquist claimed that marijuana can harm personality when taken internally, and in West Iran five more narcotics smugglers were executed bringing the total to seventy-five in the last twenty months. And, though it was revealed in New York City by the De Laval Separator Company that dairy cows—the classic symbol of tranquil existence—are producing more milk than ever before, police in Berkeley took advantage of a peaceful, rock-throwing, anti-war demonstration to experiment with two new weapons for riot control, the "stun gun" and the "ricochet round."
- Still there were some bright spots as the enlightened Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a bill on 16 February prohibiting exhibition of albino persons in the state. From Chicago came word that something was finally going to be done about Mother's Day. A group representing the hopes of literally millions of American women demanded that the traditional day be replaced by International Women's Day. Speaking for the group, a human being by the name of Dillon said "We want to reward ourselves for more than waiting on husbands and cleaning dirty diapers. We want a day that recognizes us as human beings." It remains doubtful whether the nation will respond. Nevertheless, in Baltimore a judge ruled that the Baltimore police department could not refuse to hire a man because he is a nudist.
- The struggle for an asceptic environment continues. Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans banned the killing of whales by American whalers. Four dozen people jammed into a Louisville, Kentucky office to fast for fifty-four hours in an attempt to see if the world in the year 2000 will be as uncomfortable as they expect.
- On 8 February Mr. Nixon submitted Congress a bill asking for appropriation of over two billion dollars for the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Detroit Zoo announced that a Cobra, a Siberian tigress, a rhinoceros, four elk, two camels and eight bison are in the family way. But a most disturbing development took place in Brazil when the government decided to legalize cock fighting.
- In Washington Representative Clarence J. Brown of Ohio introduced a bill calling for abolishment of the Senate and its replacement by a House of Lords. Walter Trohan reported in the Chicago Tribune that more than 27 million gallons of liquor, beer and wine were sold in the capital in the twelve months ending 30 June. And Mr. Nixon delivered his State of the World Address which struck many as a superficial account.
- Rioting went on in Northern Ireland where six British soldiers were killed, and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals claimed that there was a disturbing increase in the number of dogs suffering nervous breakdowns in that embattled country. Texas physicians have announced that they will operate on Mrs. Delores Johnson who suffers from a glandular problem causing her to continue to grow. Mrs. Johnson is now 8'2" tall and weighs 431 pounds. But it appeared American's repressive ways were becoming contagious when the Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, City Council passed a law requiring pedestrians to walk on the right side of the sidewalk to keep them from "bumping into each other." □

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"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." --Euripedes

THE NATION

Proof that drunkeness impairs bird-watching:

Richard Nixon knows the war is unpopular; there is hardly a hawk left in the country.

THE NATION

Mr. Nixon, in another scheme, is nabbed flagrante delicto by the ever-so-cunning Nation:

Nixon has considerable room to maneuver, and he will use it for his own political advantage and pose as the President who ended Johnson's war, yet managed to keep communism out of South Vietnam.

THE NATION

Proof that there are no law and order nuts at The Nation:

The Basque guerrillas who seized Eugene Beihl, the honorary West German Consul in San Sebastian some weeks ago, and who released him on Christmas Day, behaved intelligently and humanely.

THE NATION

Another courageous stand is taken by the Good Angels at The Nation; "off the NFL":

The connections between the politics of facism and the mania for football are too many to be ignored: both ground themselves on a property-seizing principle, apotheosize struggle and competition, publicly idolize victory and the powerful, make authority absolute, and relate to opposing groups by violent aggression.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Shrewd acuity characteristic of the luminous New Republic:

The only time progressive Democrats are a majority in the House, or even in the Democratic caucus, is when there are enough of them, and there aren't now.

THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

For the New Review of Trash marvels never cease. Another sign that every day in every way, the world is getting better and better:

What liberals found most interesting and hopeful about the Panthers were their efforts to supply dignity and direction to black street people. Their talk of violent revolution, their identification with third world political leaders, and even the weapons they carried seemed, by contrast, largely rhetoric and theater.

LINDA EVANS (FREE SPIRIT)

Cultural notes intoned at a recent University of Wisconsin anti-war menagerie, by an idealistic and knowledgeable member of the new left's fairer sex who is presently charged with bombings in California, Chicago and New York:

I'm going to jail tomorrow so it's really, uh, you know. So you see and uh, and uh, a month and a half of freedom. I didn't know I was supposed to talk about our culture. I didn't know, uh, how I would label it but, uh...Psychedelic patterns in my head and, uh...There's really a lot to say and, uh, I'm just getting these vibrations of real power from us, you know, that we really, really are brothers and sisters and we need to understand to get together how much we...We have to make that count in the struggle that is happening and that's going to happen in the years to come because whatever evolves from the last year.

I had three of my friends blown up...Our culture and our people isolated from everybody for ten months...Our culture and our people.

I'd like to speak to you a little bit about culture right now and about the way we are getting into each other, and getting into real relationships and stuff—building families and building tribes that can fight together. We seem a lot to be really turmoiled at this point probably because...and partly because I think people are responding to the repression in real scared ways. There are lots of indictments out, a lot of us are facing time in jail. Really heavy s---, you know. People all over the country, black people, brown people, us...So we're digging into each other a whole lot. Getting closer. Trying to decide what we are going to do. But in some ways we've forgotten our responsibilities.

The destruction of the earth is really what's happening, you know, we have a lot of responsibilities as white people in the f---g belly of the monster to try and stop them in every way possible. And I think that we have to deepen our culture and deepen our understanding of who we are to be not just songs and music and dancing and dope and loving each other, but also build a different culture of struggle on every level. **(For this graceful hybridization of Karl Marx, Harpo Marx, Leary, Freud, Reich and Kipling we are indebted to the Jack Andersons at the University of Wisconsin's Badger Herald.)**

THE MILITANT

Free enterprise rears its ugly head even at the organ of revolutionary socialism, The Militant. All hope is lost, as boosterism scores yet another triumph:

At the end of the first week of the "blitz" campaign to obtain 7,500 new Militant readers, 20 areas are ahead of schedule, 28 new areas have taken quotas, and enthusiastic reports are coming in from all over the country.

A letter from the director of the campaign in the Twin Cities writes, "We're planning sub blitzes two or three times a week. Courageous sellers are braving 52-degree below zero temperature (wind chill) to go subbing!

THE MILITANT

Even amid the serious business of revolution, Mr. Harry Ring cannot restrain his playful wit:

Poor Choice - We were pleased that shoplifting charges were dropped against former Secretary of the Interior Udall, who was busted for absentmindedly dropping a 95-cent packet of cigars into his pocket. But, we do wish he would stay away from the nicotine. (HE HAW!—eds.)

NEW YORK TIMES

Aesthetic and theological profundity blended into one pungent passage in the most celebrated of Liberal gazettes:

Obviously, the story of the last days of Jesus Christ was an attractive story choice. Portraying Christ as a modern day prophet who has all the ego hang-ups and image confusions of a rock superstar is a fascinating and contemporary notion.

WASHINGTON MONTHLY

Optimistic social analysis from the decorous journal of Establishment Liberalism, The Washington Monthly:

When people realize they're all up Queer Street together, the bonds of kinship can grow denser and stronger than any of the divisive factors of class, or caste, or suit, or kind.

WASHINGTON MONTHLY

While attending a "Gay Liberation" revival a prize-winning reporter from the Washington Monthly nosed around and came up with the following astonishing revelation:

As one marcher put it, "So much has been accomplished in terms of who we are. We are people." And not only were they people, but they were evidently quite happy.

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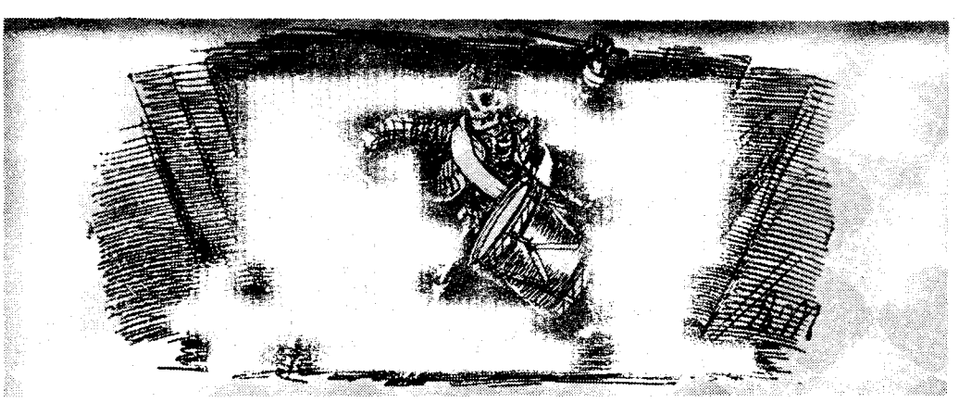

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